

EGYPT
UNDER ITS KHEDIVES:

OR,

*THE OLD HOUSE OF BONDAGE UNDER
NEW MASTERS.*

BY EDWIN DE LEON,

EX-AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL IN EGYPT.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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ORIGINAL PREFACE.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY.

WHAT can anybody have to tell us about the Nile-land that has not already been said or sung *ad nauseam*?

Painfully conscious of the fact, that the collected bulk of all the writings on Egypt, if laid one above the other, would rival the height and magnitude of one of the smaller Pyramids, the present writer pleads as an apology, for contributing another stone to the tumulus, his exceptional advantages of many years' residence in Egypt in an official capacity, his intimate public and private relations with the last three Rulers—including the present Khedive—and his recent return from that country, which he left in April last. He therefore believes he has much to say about the Khedive's Egypt that is new, and, as he trusts, interesting—not only to the general reader, but to the thoughtful student of man and history as well. Written in no partisan or partial spirit, this book professes to give a photographic picture of the changes wrought in the old "House of Bondage" by Mehemet Ali and his successors; and its true condition, social, political, and economical, to-day, when the second dawn of a new civilization seems breaking over that portion of the East which hailed the first, long ere Greece or Rome had emerged from the "double darkness of Night, and of Night's daughter, Ignorance."

In this belief he entrusts his book to the tender mercies of the public, and the tougher charities of the critics—admitting in

advance, most cheerfully, that it is not "one of those books no gentleman's library should be without," against which Charles Lamb so solemnly cautioned his young friend. All the facts and figures this book contains have been collected on the spot, and verified, as far as possible; and the writer is quite sure that, as he "has nothing extenuated," neither has he "set down aught in malice," concerning a country and a people, for both of which he entertains a sincere affection.

LONDON, *July*, 1877.

PREFATORY CHAPTER.

THE RISE OF ARABI PACHA, AND THE EGYPTIAN REVOLT.

EGYPT has been making history so fast for the last three years, as to render necessary an additional chapter to the work, which in a new and revised shape is again offered to the public. Five years ago "THE KHEDIVE'S EGYPT" was published, and four editions, in rapid succession, testified the approval of the reading world to the work as planned and executed.

The present crisis in Egyptian affairs has suggested the expediency of completing the work up to the present moment, and presenting it in a cheaper form to a wider circle of readers,—omitting such portions as do not bear directly on the existing condition of the great question of Egypt's future, now menaced by grave dangers from without and within. A recent residence of a year in Egypt, terminating but a few months since, enables the Author to make a preliminary statement of the present complications, and the causes which led to them, from the light of personal observation.

"THE KHEDIVE'S EGYPT" terminated its recital of Egyptian affairs in July 1877, when a temporary truce had been established between Ismail Khedive and the

European Powers, who had insisted on establishing a control over him, and he was professing the intention of establishing a Constitutional Monarchy, in lieu of the Absolute Government of his predecessors and himself.

The fall of the Nubar Ministry in April 1879, effected through the agency of a military revolt, by which the European Control (then consisting of Sir Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières) was insulted and assaulted, was of the Khedive's contriving; and is also memorable as being the first occasion which showed the military officers their power in the State. It was then the dragon's teeth were sown, which subsequently have produced such a harvest of armed men: and led to the Military Despotism which now overshadows the country.

That action led to the downfall and banishment of Ismail Khedive—not, however, before he had threatened to use the tools he had sharpened, in his own defence, against England and France.

But he renounced this purpose, and sullenly surrendered, when Prince Bismarck's iron hand was heavily laid upon him: renouncing the throne, but not the habit of intrigue, which will cease only with his life; and to which may be traced much of the trouble and turmoil convulsing Egypt to-day.

Yet the first movement of the military, instigated by the arch-plotter for his own personal benefit, had a different origin, and was prompted by different motives, from those which have led to the present crisis, and which only began to show themselves towards the close of the year 1880. To use the language of Sir E. Malet, in his despatch of September last:—

“The discontent sprang from the comparative, or rather

total neglect of necessary reforms in the army, while other branches of the Administration and the country generally, were being cared for. The representations then made instead of receiving due consideration, merely aroused the suspicion of the Government, and the officers who presented the petition were ultimately dealt with in the way best calculated to destroy all confidence in the Khedive (Tewfik) and the Government."

The colonels (since so famous) were trapped, arrested, and imprisoned—and liberated by their respective regiments, who had orders from them to do so, should they not return from the Ministry of War, in two hours' time. The Minister of War had to escape through a window, and a few hours later was dismissed by the Khedive, under threats from a riotous soldiery.

Riaz Pacha, the then Prime Minister, contrived to weather this storm, and pacify the colonels and army, now assuming the attitude of the dominant power in the country. A Military Commission was appointed, and remedied some of the grievances about which the army complained—and Arabi Bey, the head and spokesman of the military party, at the end of April 1881, made a loyal speech at a dinner given by the new Secretary of War, breathing reconciliation and peace. But the truce only lasted until July, when the soldiery again bearded and insulted the Khedive, who had failed to inspire them either with respect or fear—for the terms are synonymous in the East. An artilleryman was run over and killed in the streets of Alexandria. His comrades bore the body to the palace of Ras el Tin, where the Khedive was then residing, to escape the summer heats of Cairo, and forced an entrance, clamouring for vengeance. Severe sentences

were passed on the ringleaders, who acted in defiance of the orders of their officers. But the Khedive having pardoned and restored to the active list nineteen officers dismissed by the colonels, an insolent letter was addressed by the latter to the Khedive, contrasting this leniency with the severity exercised against their artillerymen. Carrying out his policy of conciliating his rebellious chieftains, the Khedive again changed his Minister of War, and naturally emboldened the mutineers, who proceeded to make fresh demands—Arabi Bey, on their behalf, presenting the new Minister with a petition containing the most absurd demands. The Khedive, alarmed at the rapid march of military arrogance, made a feeble effort to oppose it. The fear of the colonels for their personal safety drove them into rashness, and on the 9th September of the same year another military demonstration against the Khedive was made at Cairo—where his palace was surrounded by the soldiery, who compelled him to dismiss the Ministry headed by Riaz Pacha, and authorise the formation of another more agreeable to them.

The palace was surrounded by artillery, cavalry and infantry amounting to 2500 men, with eighteen guns.

Arabi Bey sent the Minister of War a communication, informing him that the troops in Cairo were going at 3.30, that afternoon, to the Abdin Palace, to obtain from the Khedive—

1st. The dismissal of the Ministry which had sold the country to the English.

2nd. A Representative Chamber.

3rd. The execution of the decisions of the Military Commission, raising the strength of the army to 18,000.

Sir A. Colvin, the English Controller, and Stone Pacha, an American officer, Chief of the Staff, urged the Khedive to put himself at the head of two regiments said to be faithful to him, and all the military police available, and personally to arrest Arabi. The Khedive, whose character strongly recalls that of Boabdil el Chico, last of the Moorish kings of Spain, whom his stern mother, Ayesha, taunted with "weeping like a woman for that he failed to defend like a man," replied that "Arabi had with him the Artillery, and they might fire." The scene is thus graphically described by Sir A. Colvin, who accompanied the Khedive, when he went to confront the mutineers, on the square fronting the Abdin Palace, which was entirely occupied by soldiers. "I said to him, 'When Arabi Bey presents himself, tell him to give you his sword, and to follow you. Then go the round of the square, address each regiment separately, and give them the order to disperse.' Arabi Bey approached on horseback. The Viceroy called out to him to dismount. He came forward, with several others on foot, and a guard with fixed bayonets, and saluted. As he came forward I said to the Viceroy, 'Now is your moment.' He replied, 'We are between four fires. We shall be killed.' He then told Arabi Bey to sheath his sword. The order was obeyed, and he then asked him what all this meant. Arabi replied by enumerating the above three points, adding that the army had come there on the part of the Egyptian people to enforce them, and would not retire until they were conceded. The Viceroy turned to me and said, 'You hear what he says.'" On Sir A. Colvin's suggestion, he then retired to his palace, leaving him to confer with the mutineers, which he did for an hour until the arrival of

Mr. Cookson, acting Consul-general, an hour later. The latter then continued the conference. Mr. Cookson found Arabi obstinate in the repetition of his formula, and his intention to carry it out, returned to the palace, saw the Khedive, and recommended, as did Mr. Colvin, that the officers should be informed that the Khedive was in communication with the Sublime Porte as to their demands, and that they should be asked to disperse, until the answer from Constantinople came.

The Khedive accepted this suggestion, but Arabi replied, that they would remain under arms until the answer came: and that, if unfavourable, they would cease to recognise the Khedive, until a Turkish Commissioner came to settle the questions at issue.

The Khedive responded to this by offering at once to dismiss his ministers, keeping the other question in abeyance—which Arabi accepted, with the proviso that no member of the Khedive's family should be in the ministry—nor should the minister of war be a Circassian or Turk, as contradistinguished from an Arab. Cherif Pacha was agreed upon as President of the Council, with power to form a new ministry at once. The reading of the Khedive's letter to Cherif announcing this, was received with loud shouts of "Long live the Khedive," and Tewfik, showing himself on the balcony, was greeted with acclamations.

But from that moment he really ceased to reign.

Urged by the English and French representatives, Cherif Pacha, though unwilling as he said, to "go before the world as having been imposed on the Khedive by a mutinous soldiery," and conscious of the difficulties of conceding the demands the soldiers would be sure to make,

patriotically consented to assume the responsibility. The Chamber of Notables, to the number of 150, summoned by Arabi at Cairo, unexpectedly interposed, guaranteeing to Cherif Pacha the submission of the army to his orders, if he would form a cabinet—to which the military leaders had to accede. And with this convocation of the Notables, and formation of a new ministry by Cherif Pacha, the curtain fell on the first act of this exciting drama. Like the true-hearted patriot he is, and ever has been, Cherif Pacha's first effort was to avoid the interposition of the Sultan in Egypt, well knowing all the consequences that such intervention would entail. Mr. Cookson on the 14th September, telegraphed to Lord Granville:—

“ French Agent and I have agreed to our Governments' identic telegram in following terms:—Cherif Pacha expresses the desire that England and France will consent, in case the army shall show itself submissive and obedient, to interpose their good offices with the Sublime Porte, in order to avert from Egypt an occupation by an Ottoman army.” Adding: “Does your lordship authorise me to give this assurance to Cherif?”

The blue books are silent as to the answer, if any, given to this communication; but the active and positive intervention of the French Government in this sense rendered it unnecessary, and the Porte sulkily submitted, but determined to send envoys nevertheless. On the 6th October the Turkish envoys arrived at Cairo, and were received next day by the Khedive. They left on the 18th, after conferring decorations on the Khedive, Cherif Pacha, and other Egyptian officials. Arabi Bey did not see or confer with them, having departed for the Wady, whither his command had been transferred, on hearing of

their coming. These envoys first proposed to hold an official inquiry, but did not renew the proposal when Cherif did not countenance it: the latter being determined not to allow the liberties acquired by his country to be infringed on by the Porte. Arabi Bey also, in a conversation with Sir A. Colvin on 1st November, put himself on record to the same effect. He said that the object he and those with him had in view, was, by the progress of reform and proper administration of justice, to do away for ever with the arbitrary government of the Turkish Pachas, under which no man knew what the next day had in store for him. About this time a new element was introduced into Egyptian politics. The native press, previously disregarded and powerless, came to the front, and commenced a mischievous agitation against the European element in Egypt. So busy and so mischievous did it become, that Sir E. Malet felt bound to remonstrate with Cherif Pacha on the subject, and ask of him "to exert his authority to prevent the dissemination of ideas, which preach distrust of Christians, and misrepresent the action of England and France towards their Mussulman subjects."

Cherif sent warnings to the native press, and to the foreign also, at the same time, to avoid irritating discussions—suppressing the French journal *L’Egypte* for insulting reference to the Prophet, its editor flying from the country through fear of assassination. The curtain rose on the second act with the opening of the Chamber of Notables by a speech from the Khedive, on the 26th December, 1881, in which the constitutional monarch threw himself on them and the country for support. The joint note of the English and French Governments, drawn up by

M. Gambetta, assuring the Khedive of their determination to support him, was submitted to him on the 8th January, 1882, but on the 5th of same month, Arabi again comes prominently forward as Under-Secretary of War, the Consuls-General and Controllers not opposing the nomination, on the ground that they thought it better he "should belong to the Government than be outside of it."

About this time the Khedive is reported as "being cheerful in mood, and taking a hopeful view of the situation"—but this serenity was soon disturbed. The calm was but the lull before the breaking of the storm.

The third act opened with the counter drafts of organic law drawn up by the Committee of the Chamber of Notables, in opposition to Cherif Pacha's programme, giving the Chamber the control of the Ministry and the Budget. Cherif Pacha opposed this change, basing his resistance on the Firmans, and on international engagements. This was a direct blow at the Anglo-French Control, and it was on this issue that Cherif Pacha's Ministry was dissolved, and the Khedive's last anchor torn away from him. This movement was made on the 15th of January.

Messrs. Colvin and de Blignières, the English and French Controllers, drew up and sent to their Governments their joint protest against this change, which they declared would seriously affect their functions. The Consul General took the same view, and expostulated with the Chamber, in vain.

On the 1st of February things had come to such a pass that Cherif Pacha expected to be requested by the Chamber to resign; and thought that the only issue from the

situation was the immediate sending of a commission from the Porte, to be followed by a Turkish force—warning the foreign agents at the same time, “that armed European intervention could neither be threatened or effected without the most serious danger to the European population”—a warning which subsequent events have confirmed. On the 2nd a deputation of the Chamber waited on the Khedive, and demanded a change of Ministry.

The Khedive asked them to name a ministry, which they at first declined, as that was his prerogative; but on the 5th of February a new Ministry was named, in which Arabi figured as Secretary of War, all his colleagues being of the so-called “National Party”—his fellow-plotters.

About this time the Sultan protested against the joint Anglo-French declaration, and Lord Granville proposed calling upon the other European Powers, “for an exchange of views as to the best mode of dealing with the affairs of Egypt.” The Khedive, on the 8th of February, approved of the organic law of the Chamber—and the powers of the Controllers, from that hour, have been seriously curtailed, if not rendered nominal.

Sir E. Malet writing on the 13th of February says: “It becomes a question whether it is useful or dignified for England and France to maintain the controllers, when they can no longer control.”

England and France apparently have thought it was, for neither have withdrawn those functionaries—although the French Government has replaced M. de Blignières by another, on the ground of his having “taken an exaggerated view of the powers and functions of his office.”

Sir A. Colvin's attitude has been endorsed by his Government.

On the 16th of March, the Khedive promoted Arabi Bey to the rank of Pacha, together with promotions of his military friends, to the number of 300.

On the 24th of March, the session of the Chamber of Delegates closed, leaving Arabi and his friends undisputed masters of the situation.

Having muzzled the Khedive, crippled the Controllers, and defied the Consuls-General, Arabi now turned his attention to his native opponents, the Turkish and Circassian officers, who stood in the way of his grand purpose of securing "Egypt for the Egyptians." Forty officers, among whom was his predecessor in the War Office, were condemned to exile for life by a court martial, the proceedings of which were secret, and the prisoners undefended by counsel; the pretext an alleged conspiracy against his life. The Khedive, after consulting the Porte and the foreign Consuls-General, hesitated as to ratifying this sentence. The Sultan promptly claimed the right of deciding this question, as regarding Turkish subjects. The Khedive temporised, and on the 9th of May signed a decree of banishment from Egypt against the accused without further punishment. The prisoners were finally sent to Constantinople, where they have since been carefully interned by order of the Sultan.

The President of the Council then informed the Foreign Representatives that as the Khedive and the Ministry could not agree, they had convoked the Chamber of Notables to lay the case before it—thus virtually deposing the Khedive—and with the intention of formally doing so later.

All communication between the Khedive and his Ministers was thus broken off, and M. de Freycinet in the French Parliament declared that "affairs in Egypt had now assumed a revolutionary character—the Ministry in insurrection against the Chief of the State."

The unfortunate Khedive, the shuttlecock between the two battledores—native and foreign—in vain asked aid and counsel from his European advisers, who only talked, while Arabi and the Ministry acted: and finally while "declaring he would ne'er consent, consented" to a reconciliation with his rebellious servants.

It was about this time that the unfortunate "naval demonstration," which produced such mighty mischief and so little good, was planned and carried out; its presence in Egyptian waters producing the very catastrophe it was intended to prevent.

The avowed objects of this "demonstration" were, the support of the Khedive, and the expulsion of the usurping Arabi and his colleagues from Egypt, such having been the chief points in the "ultimatum," or joint note of England and France, which had been so contemptuously disregarded by those to whom it had been addressed, the Porte included. For the Sultan now began openly to show a lively interest in, and a desire to control Egyptian affairs, and sent his commissioner Dervisch Pacha, with a suite of fifty persons, with his orders to his "governor of a Turkish Province" as he termed the Khedive, with the intention of resuming that absolute control of Egypt which both he and his predecessors had renounced, under guarantee of the European Powers, to the house of Mehemet Ali.

But these pretensions neither Europe, nor the Egyptians

would countenance, and the swelling programme of Dervisch's mission dwindled down into the most meagre performances, and finally into full concert with Arabi and the rebellion. Whatever may have been the secret instructions given the Turkish Envoy, who at first attempted to lord it over both the Khedive and the Ministry—whom he finally counselled to coalesce and be reconciled—his subsequent acts, countenanced by the Porte, prove the Sultan's complicity in the revolutionary proceedings of Arabi, and his sympathy with his Mohammedan brethren, in their collision with the Christian Powers.

Baffled in the attempt to resume his temporal power over Egypt, the Sultan fell back on his spiritual authority as head of Islam, to retain his ascendancy over the highway to the holy cities in Arabia—with the secret hope of ultimately regaining his lost land, through the political complications which he had himself assisted to create.

While therefore Dervisch Pacha bullied and blustered, and was pretending to put down Arabi, he was really helping him to build up and fortify his power and influence, and coercing the poor Khedive into countenancing and finally embracing the audacious rebel against his authority: until Arabi could truly exclaim, with the French despot, "I am the State!"

The recent investiture of Arabi with the cordon of the Medjidie, by the Sultan's order, has been only the last act of the comedy played by Dervisch in Egypt, where he still remains. That the Sultan would have repudiated and betrayed Arabi, had the opportunity or the power been given him, no one who knows Eastern diplomacy

can doubt; nor, even at this hour, would any similar treachery be surprising, should Arabi be weak enough to put himself into the power of the Porte under any guarantees, however solemn. But that much of the inspiration for his acts has come from Constantinople is clear as noonday, and he boasts that he holds in his possession proofs of it that would compromise the Porte, even in the confiding eyes of its European admirers, so recently its fiercest denouncers.

And herein may possibly lie the impunity and countenance afforded the impenitent rebel by his Spiritual Chief, in the face of Europe, although the head of the Egyptian tiger cat may yet fall beneath the merciless paw of the tiger of Constantinople, unless he prove to be more "bloody, bold, and resolute" than his Scotch prototype Macbeth.

But while this comedy was being converted into broad farce at Cairo, a sudden and startling change into tragedy was wrought at Alexandria, by the unprovoked and bloody riots at that latter place on the 11th of June, by whom planned and instigated is as yet unknown, although strong suspicions attach to the old Khedive Ismail, to the opponents of Arabi, and to Arabi's partisans, all of whom have been accused of complicity therewith as accessories before the fact; although perhaps, after all, the inflammatory appeals of the native press to the fanaticism, the fears, and the race-hatred of the lower class of Arabs, aggravated by the presence of the European fleet, were the exciting causes of that hideous massacre. For the character of Arabi, as thus far developed, has not indicated either ferocity or cruelty; and it was evident that much harm and no good to him and his party could

result from exciting the anger and vengeance of Christendom against them. His prompt and effective interposition to restore order and peace after the riots, also plead strongly in favour of his innocence in this regard.

But there can be no doubt that this harvest of blood and tears was from the seed which he had planted, and the race-antagonisms on which the "National Party" was based. To secure "Egypt for the Egyptians" seemed to the brutalised lower class of Arabs, and their accomplices among the police and soldiery, most easily accomplished by the expulsion or extirpation of all European residents: and, having once lapped blood, the thirst for it became insatiable.

Space is not afforded here to tell the sickening and terrible tale of the riots, which for an entire day made a slaughter-house of the streets of Alexandria, under the very guns of the combined fleet, lying as "idle as painted ships upon a painted ocean:" some of whose officers and men perished in the tumult.

The fanatical fury of the mob must indeed have been great, when they ceased even to respect the Consular emblems of authority, and the persons of the foreign representatives, hitherto held sacred there.

Mr. Cookson, the accomplished and intrepid English Consul, while braving death at the call of duty, on his way to the house of the Governor, to compel him to quell the riot, was dragged from his carriage, severely beaten by the Arab mob, and escaped with life only through the devotion of his native guard, or Janissary.

His Greek and Italian colleagues were exposed to the same insults and injuries, and Europeans of all nationalities, to the number of 350, are said to have been hunted

down and murdered by the native mob: while many who sought the protection of the guard houses and military, met a similar fate. The mob had free privilege to murder and pillage for fully five hours, before either the military garrison of 6000 men, or the police, raised a finger to protect the Europeans, who, unarmed and taken by surprise, were slaughtered like sheep by the iron-shod naboots (or clubs), with which the mob were armed. Some execution was done upon these butchers by the knives of the Maltese and Italians of the lower class, those men habitually wearing them; but how many Arabs were killed is unknown. Since the day of these riots there has been a steady exodus of Europeans of all classes and conditions, with their families, out of Egypt—a panic flight in which all their worldly goods have been left behind: until out of a colony of 100,000 persons of all nationalities, not more than a remnant remains, and of these all that can possibly manage to escape from a land where they now feel no security for person or property, will swell the tide of emigration.

Yet, when Europe calls upon the Turk to join in a conference to restore order and the reign of law in Egypt, the insolent answer is given that order has already been restored there through the Sultan's agency, and the reconciliation of the Khedive and the Ministry; and that the fleet, as provocative of rioting, ought to be withdrawn. And to accentuate this defiance more strongly, Arabi, the head and front of the offence to England and France, is ostentatiously decked out with the highest mark of the Sultan's favour and approval!

While these lines are penned the Conference is in Session at Constantinople with closed doors—and sealed

lips—trying to coax the recalcitrant Sultan into its charmed circle.

But what the issue of its deliberations may be, not the most prescient of politicians can even conjecture: although those conferences must be quickened into action by the rapid preparation of English armaments sufficient to crush the life out of the Egyptian Conspiracy against the legitimate sovereign of that realm, as well as against the restoration of Christian progress and civilisation: so suddenly and ruthlessly expelled by fire and sword, to the utter ruin of the survivors of that day of horror.

If England and France, the self-elected champions of Christendom in Egypt, even in submission to the desire of the Conference—accept the lame and impotent conclusion of these difficulties, pressed upon them by the Porte, and which the Khedive, a State prisoner, is powerless to change—they may resign themselves to the certainty, that although the Suez Canal transit may for a while be kept open through Arab sufferance, and a remnant of the European residents sneak back, to be contemptuously treated by the Arabs—whom they have hitherto lorded it over—yet they will find that the hand on the dial-plate of Egyptian progress, prosperity and civilisation, will have been put back—never to be put forward again, until better and bolder councils prevail.

The maxim of Danton is the key-note of the situation now, even though England be compelled to act alone.

A few words on the personality of Arabi Pacha may appropriately close this prefatory sketch.

That an unlettered soldier, ignorant of all foreign languages, supported by an army that has never shown

spirit or courage on any battle field, either against Christian legions in the Crimea, or naked and almost unarmed Abyssinians—should have succeeded, in rapidly rising almost from the ranks to the highest military and civil distinction, which his own Government and the Sublime Porte could bestow, must surprise Christendom, although the recurrence of a similar phenomenon is not unfamiliar to the Eastern mind.

Mehemet Ali's case has been cited as one in point; but Mehemet Ali was a born soldier, like Napoleon, and carved his way with his sword, while his native sagacity and genius supplied the want of education and culture. Arabi is not a man of similar stamp—one of Carlyle's "heroes in history"—but an obstinate Arab, of patriotic impulses doubtless, but of narrow views and limited intelligence, who has been pushed on step by step by his brother colonels, behind whom is the army, the only compact body in Egypt, when under the relaxing grasp of Khedive Towfik, authority and respect for it had fallen into abeyance, when the Pretorian Guard grasped at pay and promotion first, and absolute control of public affairs afterwards, dislocating the whole fabric of Egyptian society in their clumsy devices to effect their double purpose.

Arabi is a representative man for this military element, in all of whose passions and prejudices, wants and wishes, he sympathises and shares; with additional crude aspirations towards playing the rôle of Mehemet Ali, and by the expulsion of the foreigner giving Egypt to the Egyptians.

For several years, under the iron rule of Ismail, he played the part of a military usher, on guard at the palace near the person of the Khedive, and only emerged from that position, when elevated on the shoulders of his mutinous com-

rades of the barracks, he commenced by bullying a cowardly Secretary of War, and continued the same game with a timid sovereign. His face used to be familiar to all visitors at the palace, and an amiable face, of the pure Arab type, it was, but not indicative either of strong will or high intelligence. His figure and bearing also had nothing in them to attract attention, any more than those of the Arab officers always on guard about the palace.

Briefly, Arabi is, to a great extent, simply an accident, and the product of a series of accidents, in his present phase of development; posing as kingmaker, or regenerator of Egypt, without either the personal attributes, or the following essential to sustain such a position.

That he is neither a knave, a fool, nor merely a self-seeker, many incidents in his dizzy rise have proved; but both he and his "National Party" will collapse, like pricked balloons, should the threats of England be followed up by deeds, and the forts at Alexandria be knocked about his ears, with a respectable force landed at Aboukir, Port Saïd, Ismailia, and Suez. That he would make fight is probable, but that fight could neither be bloody nor protracted, and his own courage and resolution would not be imitated by his army, now being reinforced by raw levies, picked up starving in the streets of Alexandria and Cairo.

The strongest ally, and the most dangerous enemy, to him, and to any expeditionary force respectively, would be the climate—which from May until November is very trying to European constitutions, through excessive heat, unrelieved by a drop of rain.

The canals could also be cut, so as to put the Delta

under water, and the stoppage of the canal transit and supply of fresh water effected as often as a few Arabs might choose, without danger or difficulty.

But a cordon could be drawn around him, should he retreat to Cairo, where he could be starved out, or forced to fly into the remote Soudan.

"When this hurly burly's done," and peace is restored, the first duty of Europe will be the removal of those causes of popular discontent which have made the rise of Arabi and a National Party possible, and opened a Pandora's box of evils upon Egypt. Some of the more salient of the abuses in the administration were indicated in the "Khedive's Egypt" five years ago, and those abuses have increased, not diminished, in the interval, as the recently published Blue Books show.*

One of Arabi's strongest pleas for the formation of his National Party, and cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians" has been the existence of these abuses, as set forth by Sir William H. Gregory and Mr. Blunt, his interpreters to Europe.

The march of events has also strengthened the opinion expressed five years ago that the Siamese ligature which has so long united the Arab to the Turk, ought to be cut away, and Egypt form the nucleus of an Arab-speaking Empire, independent of the Porte. It would indeed be a sad commentary on the morals of Christendom if Christian hands are again to rivet Turkish chains on a country from which a potent genius and patriotism freed it more than half a century ago.

The tenure of Arabi's rule over Egypt depends solely

* See pp. 127-131 (*Old Edition*).

on the forbearance and long-suffering of the Allied Powers, or any one of them. More than thirty war ships, representing nine different nationalities, now lie in the harbour of Alexandria, while the Conference drags its slow length along, and the Egyptians strengthen their fortifications, and block up the entrance to their harbour.

Whether cannon or the Conference will solve the situation, whether Arabi will fight it ~~out~~, or yield peacefully to *force majeure*, and Egypt, freed from his presence and that of his comrades, will once more resume the paths of peace and progress—another week must now decide.

July 10, 1882.

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EGYPT UNDER ITS KHEDIVES.

CHAPTER I.

EASTWARD HO! FROM SOUTHAMPTON TO PORT SAÏD.

Leave Southampton on P. and O. steamer—The three chief routes to Egypt—"Biscay's sleepless bay"—Sudden step from winter to spring—"The Rock"—Malta and Maltese—Port Saïd—First glimpses—The peculiarities of place and people—Off by canal by moonlight, for Ismailia.

LEAVING Southampton under the cold and cloudy skies of a November morning in 1876, on the Peninsular and Oriental steamship *Khedive*, bound for Port Saïd, Suez, and India, we sailed for the Suez Canal—that eighth wonder of the world—with a view of examining it and the young cities which have sprung up, like Jonah's gourd, upon its banks within the last ten years.

Our steamer was one of the largest of those which pass through the canal, a magnificent specimen of naval construction in all respects, combining power, speed, space, safety, and comfort in an eminent degree; and our long run was more like a pleasure trip than a sea voyage, owing to the admirable arrangements of the company. We carried one hundred and thirty first-class passengers, and could have comfortably accommodated a score or two more.

We chose the long route to Egypt for the benefit of the sea voyage of fourteen days' duration, in preference to the faster lines, *viâ* Brindisi or Marseilles, by which Egypt may be reached in half the time. Last year I dined one Thursday evening at London, and lunched at Alexandria on the ensuing Thursday, taking the P. and O. Brindisi steamer. The route *viâ* Marseilles and Naples, in the French *Messageries* steamers, takes about two days more from London, and you are six days at sea instead of three.

From Southampton to "Biscay's sleepless bay," where the "winds were rough," as in Childe Harold's day, our voyage was monotonous; but, on reaching that well-known point, we were "rocked in the cradle of the deep" in a most satisfactory or unsatisfactory manner; and the yawning gaps at the hitherto well-filled table testified that tribute was being as faithfully paid to Neptune, as though the worship of the heathen gods still prevailed.

We had left Southampton on Thursday, and on the ensuing Tuesday the grim frowning Rock of Gibraltar (*Gebel el Tarik*, or *Rock of Tarik*) looked down upon us, as we rapidly steamed along the shores of Spain, and finally cast anchor beneath the shadow of the mountain at early morning, while sunshine and warmth, like those of early spring, bathed his bald old brow. For we felt we had gained another land and another climate than those we had parted from but four brief days before, and had made a sudden plunge into sunlight, and an earth covered with verdure and flowers. The little boats that rowed off to meet us were filled with ripe luscious fruit and fresh flowers; while the vendors of such sou-

venirs of Gibraltar as the place could boast of boarded the steamer immediately, with clamorous proffers of their wares in broken bits of several languages — English, French, Italian, and Spanish.

Of course I shall not attempt to describe the famous "Rock," whose history and prominent features are so familiar to everybody. Yet even here the intruding Saxon has made his mark, until the grim old Moorish pirate, Tarik—who has left it his name—would not recognize his eyry, were he permitted, like Hamlet's father, to "revisit the glimpses of the moon," and look upon it again.

For the rest of our trip we sailed over smooth seas, under sunny skies—the blue expanse of water unruffled by a blast, resembling more a placid lake than the ever-restless and unquiet sea; reaching Malta on the fourth day, and passing six hours there, which, of course, we spent on shore.

The native Maltese are a curious race—Italian, with a strong infusion of Arab or Moorish blood in them: and with a most miscellaneous mixture of the blood of the different orders of foreign knights, who formerly lived and loved on the island, some of whose vows were notoriously regarded more "in the breach than the observance." Like their rocky home, the people are a kind of half-way house between the West and the East; but in them the Eastern element predominates. They have even invented a language on the same principle—half "Lingua Franca," half Arabic—unwritten, yet currently spoken and understood among themselves. They seem almost amphibious—the boys diving down into the sea and bringing up the pennies thrown into the water from

the ship's side ; and the boatmen looking half fisherman, half pirate, as they paddle across from Valetta to Sleima for a twopenny fare.

Over these smooth seas we glided, the throb of the great heart of the engine pulsing audibly our progress, during the silent watches of the day and night, until on the fourth morning after leaving Malta, at sunrise we sighted the lighthouse of Port Said, on the low flat shore which there meets the Mediterranean.

But a half-score of years ago, when the Suez Canal was as yet an uncertainty—in *posse* not in *esse*—where now stands a thriving and growing town were but a few scattered buildings for the use of the workmen and machinery of the Canal Company. But five years earlier, the site now occupied by piles of public and private buildings, surrounded by blooming gardens filled, even at this wintry season of the year, with green trees and tropical flowers in full bloom, was but a barren sandy waste, whose rugged coast offered no available harbour. But with the opening of the canal, “as though by stroke of an enchanter’s wand,” the desert was made to blossom as the rose, the groaning sea recoiled, a safe harbour was created, in which great ships might safely ride, and the twin towns of Port Said and Ismaïlia (the one at the Mediterranean mouth, the other at the central point of the new water-way) sprang into sudden and lusty life, and have been growing into manhood, with a rapidity truly marvellous to contemplate in so old and slow a country as that in which they were incubated out of the desert sands.

Although M. de Lesseps obtained the concession for the canal in the year 1854, shortly after the accession

of Saïd Pacha, supported only by the Dutch and American consuls-general in his application—even the French consul-general, like the English, then ridiculing and opposing the project in consequence of the opposition to it from England and Constantinople—it was fully five years before he got a fair start, and the birth of Port Saïd may really be dated from 1859. It was a very rickety child long after, and it was only in 1869, with the opening of the canal, that its real growth began. Since that time its march has been onward.

Civilization immediately stared us in the face on landing, in the shape of a Custom-house; and Orientalism in the backsheesh bribes we had to pay the *employés*, for not examining our various parcels and packages.

This ceremony over, escorted by a rabble rout of porters and the friends of porters, each striving to touch some part of the luggage carried by the others, to establish a claim for payment, we proceeded to the Grand Hotel du Louvre—a French hotel of rather a barrack appearance, but whose table was really Parisian and comforting to stomachs kept on the plain British *cuisine* of the P. and O. steamer for the two preceding weeks. Here we remained from 8 A.M. until midnight, and found the hotel—with two exceptions—comfortable enough. These exceptions were the villainous smells that permeated and pervaded it throughout from imperfect drainage, and the hungry hosts of mosquitoes which banqueted upon us without a moment's cessation.

As there are but two daily departures, *viâ* the canal, for Ismaïlia, forty miles distant, by small steamers—one early in the morning, the other at midnight—and we had missed the first, we spent the day in strolling over the

town, which is decidedly French in aspect, and well and compactly built. The foreign population also seems chiefly French—people in some way connected with the Isthmus works and the language also in the shops was French, instead of Italian, as is generally the case at Alexandria or Cairo.

Port Saïd is rather a pretty, though not over clean place, with a large public garden in the centre of the town, filled with rare Eastern trees, shrubs, and flowers, all looking as fresh and blooming as though the season were July, not November. The heat of the sun also was so oppressive that we had to resort to umbrellas for protection. The town is remarkable as the growth of so short a time, not only in its solid blocks of buildings and blooming gardens, but also for the magnitude and beauty of many of the private residences, with their large verandahs extending all around them, as in Havana—the ceaseless clouds of tobacco smoke rising from the mouths of the residents, completing the resemblance to the “ever-faithful island.”

At midnight we left the hotel for the small Egyptian mail steamer, which was to take us through the canal to Ismaïlia. We were not kept waiting much over an hour beyond the appointed time at the office, and again were confronted with civilization, in the shape of weighing luggage, and heavy charges for alleged extra weight in addition to our regular fare, almost doubling the tariff price.

The steamer looked like a toy boat, reminding us, both from its size, and its wheel at the stern instead of the sides of the vessel, of the small boats that ply up and down the bayous in Louisiana. A very diminutive cabin

forward, with no berths, but simple divans, sufficient to accommodate six persons stretched out at full length, constituted the first-class accommodation. Fortunately there were in all but four first-class passengers, so we were comfortable enough. As we were favoured by bright moonlight—so bright that one could easily read by it—I spent the larger portion of my time on the small outside deck, looking out upon the strange scene, and the narrow canal through which we were almost noiselessly paddling at the rate of about eight miles per hour. The great sea wall outside, built out into the sea several miles, to resist the encroachments of the Mediterranean, as well as the opening or mouth of the canal itself, are well worth seeing and examining more closely than our time allowed us; for they are proofs of the wonderful ingenuity and skill of engineering science in resisting the wars of winds and waves against its artificial bulwarks.

But the greater part of the transit to Ismailia from Port Saïd, when the first novelty is over, is monotonous in the extreme—almost a run through a large ditch, which, however, is far wider than one would have imagined from merely reading a description of it; since it looks wide enough to permit several steamers of large size to pass at the same time. Part of the canal is simply a trench cut through the desert, which is gritty, not sandy, and the deepening of the channel through salt lakes already existing, but too shallow for navigation. The rest consists of heavy cuttings through hills, whose rugged outlines on either side break the dead level and uniform monotony of the banks. Approaching and leaving Kantara—a station where a short stoppage is made—the latter is the case.

Yet the scene is unique and utterly unlike any other ; the southern bayous, whose water-way resembles the canal, being fringed with great trees draped in moss, waving from them like banners in some old cathedral, and lined besides by dense underbrush. Here the dead silence and solitude, the grey wastes around unrelieved by tree, bush, or shrub, looking still more ghostly under moonlight, with only the plashing of the little steamer to recall the sounds of life, made it a solemn and weird spectacle, though a monotonous one, during the six hours of our transit.





VIEW NEAR LAKE TIMSAH.

To face page 2.

CHAPTER II.

ISMAÏLIA—THE DESERT.—CAIRO.

Reach Ismaïlia at sunrise—First view—The Custom-house nuisance again—The faith in things unseen—The Hotel Paris—A truly Parisian *cuisine*—Stroll over the town—Its public and private gardens—Peculiar charms of this oasis in the desert—The railway route, *via* Zagazig, to Cairo—Along the Fresh-Water Canal—Chinese coolie—The Suez Canal and Euphrates Railway route—Some facts and figures about the Suez Canal—Mention of one of its founders.

WE reached Ismaïlia about sunrise, and passing ashore with our luggage, found ourselves under a leafy bower of shady trees, forming an avenue of acacias and wild figs which, although yet youthful, had attained already sufficient proportions to do honour to the Champs Elysées; although they, as well as the little city which we saw at the end of the leafy vista, half a mile distant, occupied the space which was sandy desert a few years before. For nature here is indeed a bounteous mother, wherever water is brought to the soil, no other further fertilizer seeming to be needed in this country of contradictions.

Here, again, we were most unexpectedly arrested by the Custom-house nuisance, to which we had already been subjected at Port Saïd but twenty-four hours before. Why or wherefore the superior powers alone can tell; but the wayfaring man, though not a fool, may not. Argument

and expostulation were in vain, and more francs had to be offered up on the shrine of Backsheesh the Insatiable, whose worship has succeeded that of Isis and Osiris in the land of the Pharaohs, before we were permitted to pass the imaginary barrier, where there is a gate barring the road, and an excessively dirty and stolid Egyptian acting as toll-gatherer. On we marched, with unopened trunks borne on the shoulders of several Arabs, towards Ismaïlia and breakfast; and wearied with our night journey, hailed the sight of the Hotel Paris, which had been highly recommended to us, and richly merited the recommendation.

Ismaïlia (so named in compliment to the Khedive Ismail) is a far prettier, though much smaller, town than Port Saïd, which the completion and successful working of the Fresh-Water Canal, that connects it directly with Cairo, and promises to act as a great feeder of produce to the Suez Canal by diverting the transportation thither, bids fair to expand into much larger proportions, and make the centre of a brisk trade in native produce. Even now it is an attractive and pretty place—a wonderfully precocious child of eight years of age—with its public garden in the centre of the city, blooming even in mid-winter with rare exotics and evergreens, and with a large fountain of fresh water furnishing the inhabitants with a full supply of that luxury. Its Khedivial palace, and the pretty chalets of M. de Lesseps and others, embowered in gardens filled with flowers and fruits, and its snug little shops filled with Parisian knickknacks, give it the air of one of the small towns in the environs of Paris bodily transported into the desert—an impression which the prevalence of the French tongue, even on Arab lips, tends also to enhance. Here the “Father of the Isthmus,” as he loves to be called

—M. de Lesseps, that well known "*Veillard qui ne se vieillit pas*" (as his friends say)—holds his court for three months every year, and dispenses hospitality on the most lavish scale; and at the patriarchal age of seventy-three, exceeding the Scriptural term, with his young wife and houseful of young children, seems to bloom like a century plant.

Ismailia, as already stated, enjoys the exceptional privilege of an excellent hotel, the Hotel Paris, kept by an old French resident, who boasts the same name as the gay capital of France, and who proves himself entitled to that highest eulogium of "knowing how to keep an hotel."

Ismailia is famous for its fish, with which the Cairene market is supplied; and its fruits and flowers also are almost unrivalled.

The town itself is European in appearance, reminding one of Auteuil or Passy, with a dash of the East thrown in by the semi-tropical vegetation. The shops are chiefly kept by French men or women, who constitute the bulk of the population, although of course the evidences of Egyptian residence are not wanting. The climate in winter is said to be very equable and agreeable, though I should suppose that the vicinity of large bodies of water would render it somewhat damp. This, however, the residents will not admit, and my own experience was too limited to contradict their positive and patriotic vindication of their climate. Certain it is that Ismailia is a very pretty place, and for those who love peace and quiet and can dispense with society, might prove an attractive residence during the winter months; although few Oriental features present themselves there beyond the gardens and the climate. Its proximity to Cairo also tends to render it accessible to civilization and society.

We spent only a few hours at Ismailia, and then took the railway, *viâ* Zagazig, to Cairo—a most dusty and fatiguing journey of about seven hours, rendered apparently longer by the frequent and almost interminable stoppages at the small railway stations, or rather sheds, every half-hour. Zagazig, at which we stopped *en route*, is really a pretty place, and apparently a prosperous one, with its well-built houses, and storehouses for produce, and its mosques and minarets of much pretension, to meet the spiritual wants of its population, which is chiefly Egyptian. Out of 40,000 inhabitants of which it boasts, not more than 300 can even put in a claim to foreign European origin. It is the chief city of the province of Charkyé, which numbers nearly half a million of inhabitants. Among other large cities in the Delta are—Damanhour, with 25,000 inhabitants; Mansourah, with 16,000; Tanta (where the great fairs are held), with 60,000; Rosetta at the Nile-mouth 15,000, and Damietta 29,000; so that there are cities to be seen outside of Cairo and Alexandria, though seldom visited by tourists.

For more than half the way after leaving Ismailia, the transit is through the desert—the most bare, bleak, and dreary scene the eye of man can rest upon; the very “abomination of desolation” spoken of in Scripture; unrelieved for miles by the slightest trace of man’s presence or occupation, deserted even by birds and beasts,—an arid, shrubless waste of ever-shifting sand. Yet experience has proved that even this desert waste can be made “to blossom as the rose,” simply by the use of water, without other fertilizers; and one of the great uses of the Fresh-Water Canal will arise from the irrigation it will supply, and the belt of fertility it will create, along the whole

line of its course. The blooming gardens of Port Said and Ismailia, so lately redeemed from the desert by similar agency, would seem to afford ample confirmation to this claim; especially since the canal has passed into the hands of the Suez Canal Company, at least for a time, that corporation having obtained the control of it from the Khedive. The opening of this new water-way has already been celebrated with much pomp at Ismailia in April, 1877; and the Khedive has promised formally to inaugurate it in the autumn.

Statements have been made, in English and foreign journals, that the Fresh-Water Canal from Ismailia had been purchased from the Egyptian Government by the Suez Canal Company; but this is a mistake. Like most of the great public works of Egypt at this moment, it has only been hypothecated to creditors, as are the railways and the harbours and docks.

A debt of 2,500,000 francs being due to M. Paponot, the contractor, and to the Suez Canal Company, for advances made to the Khedive, it has been agreed that a commissioner shall be appointed by the Canal Company to take over a portion of the tolls collected from the New Fresh-Water Canal, until the liquidation of this debt; though the Suez Company will have no power to control the management, but merely to collect a portion of the money accruing therefrom, as it is paid into the treasury.

The receipts of the new canal are estimated at about 1,000,000 francs per annum, which would clear off the company's loan in three years and a half. But, of course, this calculation is based on the popularity of the new canal as a means of transit for the produce of the interior, hitherto conveyed by other routes. As to its profits from

irrigation, they probably will not be immediate nor great, for reasons already stated; and, in reality, with the diminishing force of labourers, which the war will necessarily cause, both by the drafts from Constantinople, and the necessity of keeping up an army in Egypt to guard the canal and meet other possible contingencies, some time must elapse before more land will be needed for cultivation in Egypt.

What is needed to effect the redemption of thousands of acres more of the waste lands of Egypt, in addition to canals for irrigation, is labour, and the judicious employment of it, instead of the slovenly and wasteful system that now prevails.

Egypt is sparsely populated, even for its area of already cultivable land; and of its five and a half millions of inhabitants, probably one-third of its adult male population reside in the larger cities and towns, and are not agricultural labourers or cultivators. Cairo swallows up half a million, Alexandria a quarter of a million, living by petty trades or industrial pursuits other than agricultural. The large towns of the Delta, which have increased enormously in size and population under the present reign, swallow up many thousands more. A rigorous system of conscription also drafts largely from the rural population its young and able-bodied portion, the very bone and sinew of the country, to perish by disease or battle in Turkey or Abyssinia, or become unproductive consumers at home. The standing strength of the Egyptian army has been estimated at from 60,000 to 70,000 men, although recently the Khedive has reduced the *cadres* largely, and wisely sent back his warriors into that field where pruning-hooks take the place of swords.

The new acquisitions in Soudan and Central Africa have called for, and must still demand, large expeditionary corps, many—perhaps most—of whom are destined never to return; falling victims either to the pestilential climate (almost as fatal to the Egyptian as to the European), or to the ferocity of the savage warriors of interior Africa, a race seemingly as untamable as the Comanche Indians. How to supply this pressing want, underlying the progress and prosperity of Egypt, is one of the many problems now vexing the active and restless brain of the Khedive, who has inherited much of the energy, as well as the throne of his grandfather, Mehemet Ali—the Napoleon of the East—founder of a line which bids fair to outlive that of the Sultan.

By his equatorial annexations, the Khedive has thus far gained a large increase of territory and of population nominally, but no material advantage, nor addition to his labouring population. For it is more than doubtful, if the barbarians of Central Africa even were colonized in Egypt, that they could be made to work in the fields as regular labourers. Their native indolence, as well as their savage training, would render the result of such an experiment (even if attempted on a large scale) more than problematical. The tiger cannot be made to plough in the same furrow as the ox; and the savage Central African nomad, compared with the peaceful, drudging Egyptian fellah—a serf and born thrall for centuries—is as the tiger to the ox. In this strait the attention of the Khedive has been directed, by thoughtful Europeans in Egypt, towards the teeming and industrious millions of China; and a scheme for the introduction of coolies into Egypt has been proposed to and considered by the

Khedive himself, who has inclined a serious ear to the proposition.

We are very much in the dark as to many points of the administration of the Suez Canal, and as to the actual expenses of the concern; it having been very much of a close corporation, under French control, until intermeddling "*perfidie Albion*" insisted on putting her finger into the pie, and assuming a share in the direction of the enterprise, to which she contributes about nine-tenths of the support. My own brief examination of the canal showed me how incessant must be the wash upon the sides, and the filling up of the narrow channel, through ordinary wear and tear. But there are other and extraordinary influences also at work on the canal, owing to its peculiar situation and surroundings, as the following statement clipped from the London papers of May 1st will conclusively show:—"The Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamship *Poonah*, with the India and China mails, which arrived at Southampton yesterday, experienced, while in the Suez Canal, *a severe sand-storm, which commenced at sunrise, and continued, more or less furious, until five in the afternoon.* During the storm she lay right across the canal powerless. *Tons of sand were thrown on the deck, and the masts and gear were covered with a thick coating.*"

The effects of a series of such storms on the canal must be obvious to every one, the peculiar position and character of that work being taken into consideration.

From a general statement of the affairs of the canal, made to the shareholders at their general meeting at Paris, towards the close of the year 1876, by M. Charles de Lesseps, son of "the founder," and vice-president of

the company, we derive some information as to its actual working. He assumes only to give "an interesting forecast of the probable financial results of the year's working" (to quote the language of the journal from which this statement is extracted), "as follows":—

"In 1875, he said a net profit of 1,061,000 francs (£42,440) had been earned, which was sufficient for the payment of a dividend of 1*fr.* 88*cs.* per share. It is expected, however, that the free revenue of 1876 will amount to 1,500,000 or 1,600,000 francs (£60,000 to £64,000), and this increase of about 50 per cent. in the profits will admit of the payment of a dividend of about 2*fr.* 80*cs.* per share, which, added to the 25 francs of interest, gives a revenue of about 28 francs per share. But the company may be said to have made even greater progress than is shown by these figures. The increase in the traffic receipts for 1876, as compared with those for the previous year, amounted to 1,100,000 francs (£44,000), while the working expenses had actually diminished. On the working of the canal, therefore, there had been an increased profit not of 50 but of fully 100 per cent." *

The jarrings and jealousies which have recently manifested themselves between the old French and new English stockholders have not tended to constitute "a happy family" out of the directory; nor has Mr. Disraeli's grand *coup* increased its harmony. The Lion, not the Eagle, now guards the entrance to and protects the passage through the canal, which, but for Napoleon III.

* From recently published statistics, it appears that out of 1593 ships, aggregating 3,291,525 tons, passing through the canal in 1881, the English flag covered 1269 vessels, aggregating 2,629,855 tons.

(who wrung the millions of indemnity out of the recalcitrating viceroy), would never have been completed. Never was the irony of fate more curiously exhibited than in the history of this enterprise which, planned and perfected by French pertinacity and French francs, eked out by Egyptian indemnities and contributions, has finally resulted in the almost exclusive use and benefit of England, so long its contemptuous critic and opponent; and probably the most bitter reflection that passes through the mind of the representative Frenchman who, in conjunction with two other Frenchmen (the engineers Linant and Mougel Beys, who supplied the engineering skill in which the ancient diplomat was deficient), planned and perfected the canal, must be the knowledge of this fact; as well as the painful conviction that although, during the term of his natural life, he will still be the figure-head of the company, his destined successor must inevitably be an Englishman—from the preponderating interest of that nationality in the work, whether in peace or in war.

The cost of the canal from first to last seems to have amounted to £19,000,000, about £6,000,000 of which had to be paid to the company for concessions made by the Khedive, which he had to withdraw and pay for in this very liberal manner. These concessions consisted of large bodies of desert lands; but the company still retains large tracts around its chief centres of traffic, Port Saïd and Ismaïlia. It has been proved that this landed property may be made cultivable by the use of water, and must therefore materially advance in value.*

* See Appendix A for other particulars as to cost of canal.

Hereafter, when the gratitude or the means of the company shall prompt them to raise some memorial to the founders of the canal, alongside of that which will commemorate the name and fame of Ferdinand de Lesseps—already so world-wide in this connection—should be placed another of equal magnitude, to commemorate the services of S. S. Ruyssennaers, consul-general of Holland, and first vice-president of the company, whose shrinking modesty has hitherto veiled from the public eye his claims to an almost equal paternity of the great enterprise, which without him might, and probably would, never have proved a success.

I speak of what I know, and of what many others in Egypt also know, when I assert that from the earliest inception of this enterprise, before and after the concession was obtained (in which he took a leading part), as well as in his constant mediation and management in all its stages, wherein his tact, temper and influence with two successive viceroys had to be often and strongly exerted to save the scheme from utter ruin, the final success of the enterprise is as much due to him, as to the indomitable pluck and energy of his better known and more fortunate co-labourer, to whom the public has accorded all the glory.

I mention this fact with no wish to tear one leaf from the well-earned chaplet of M. de Lesseps, one of whose earliest friends and supporters (when his friends were few) I claim to have been, in act as well as profession. But surely there is glory enough in so great a success to bear division? and in what I have alleged the testimony of many old Egyptians will bear me out—as well as the records of the company itself. So sensible was the

Khedive himself of this obligation, that in the photograph he caused to be prepared for presentation to the crowned heads of Europe, in commemoration of the inauguration of the canal, unsolicited by any one, he assigned one of the most conspicuous places, next himself in that picture, to the photographic likeness of M. Ruyssenaers, in recognition of his great services in regard to the work; and Christendom and the company surely cannot afford to be less grateful than the Khedive, when the hour comes for their public recognition also.

Suez has also profited by the canal, although not so much as her younger sisters on the Isthmus. Before the Suez Canal was a success, Suez had a certain impulse given to it by the transit, and its connection with the P. and O. line of steamers, then and for a long time the monopolists for the Indian voyage; after the enterprise and energy of Waghorn had demonstrated the superiority of the overland transit to the tedious passage round the Cape.

In those early days Suez was a crumbling old Arab town, with a sparse population of natives, and not a dozen European residents; possessing, it is true, a large rambling hotel, built by the P. and O. Company, which gave the returning Indian traveller a foretaste of European entertainment again. But there was a general air of desolation and decay about the place, which was rather disheartening.

With the new influx, however, through the canal, a revival has taken place, although it is sad to record the fact that two-thirds of the resident foreigners are men; the gentler sex apparently shunning Suez, or being dispensed with by the ungallant males who have congregated

there, and made it a kind of Eastern bachelors' hall. The population now comprises about 2500 foreigners, and about 11,000 Arabs, in all 13,500; the floating population it is impossible to estimate. The vicinity to the Red Sea, and the connection of several sites in the vicinity with Scriptural story—notably the supposed point where Pharaoh and his host attempted, and the Israelites successfully accomplished, the passage of the Red Sea, the well of Moses (*Ain el Moussa*), and other traditional places—give Suez the only interest it can boast of to the tourist.

The Euphrates Valley Railway road to India, which once shared public interest with the Suez Canal, for which it was proposed as a substitute, seems to have lost the favour it once enjoyed. Five years since, the British House of Commons appointed an able committee to investigate the subject, and obtain the opinions of the most eminent public men, whose experience had qualified them to form a correct judgment as to the necessity and practicability of that route. Among these were Lord Sandhurst and Lord Strathnairn, both formerly commanders-in-chief in India, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, than whom there could be no better authority. The committee also examined many other distinguished persons, whose experience or researches gave weight to their utterances.

The result of this inquiry was, that the committee came to the conclusion that the first cost of construction would be £10,000,000. Politically and strategically, there was an agreement of opinion that such an alternative line, in case of war, would be useful. The military witnesses differed widely in opinion as to the value of such a line as a means of sending troops to India. Lord

Sandhurst expressed his preference for sea transportation. Several others doubted the expediency of sending troops over a line passing over 900 miles, from Scanderoon to the Persian Gulf, through a foreign country, liable to be disturbed by European complications and local disturbances. "The Indian Government, in a despatch to which are subscribed the names of Lord Mayo, Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir John Strachey, and Sir Richard Temple, 'earnestly desired that it might be found practicable to carry out the project, which would be of considerable, but not paramount importance to India,' and were '*decidedly averse* to any promise of pecuniary assistance being made.' It was added: 'We cannot consider the project of such vital and paramount importance to the interests of India as would justify us in placing a charge upon the resources of the Empire for its construction or maintenance.'"

Since the report of this committee, the monopoly of the Suez Canal route, as the best short route, seems to have been firmly established; and British diplomacy has therefore been seriously occupied with it, to the exclusion of all others.

The war has raised some important questions relative to the Suez Canal, and there has been much talk of "neutralization," in its broadest sense; but the expression of British opinion on this matter, through Lord Derby's utterances in Parliament, has shown, that the nation which has made the canal its highway to India, and supplies three-fourths of the tonnage passing through it, will never consent to this; because it would bar the passage of its own war vessels and troops, in certain contingencies.

The transit through the canal is governed by the convention of January, 1856, which regulates the relations of

the Canal Company with Egypt and Turkey, the proprietors of the domain, of which the following is the text :—

“ART. XIV.—We (Khedive) declare solemnly, for ourselves and our successors, the Great Maritime Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and its dependent posts, open for ever as neutral ways, to every commercial vessel, proceeding from one sea to the other, without distinction, preference, or exclusion, either of persons or nationalities, subject to payment of dues,” etc., etc.

But this privilege, it will be seen, covers only commercial vessels, not those of war; and the Porte and Khedive have so construed it, by giving notice that Russian war vessels shall not be allowed to pass. The war vessels of friendly Powers, on making requisition, have never been denied the privilege, although there is nothing in the concession to give them a right to do so. In the Abyssinian war England made effective use of the canal. The canal is still included in Egyptian territory—the right of “*eminent domain*” never having been conceded to the company—and has been leased to that company for ninety-nine years, at the expiration of which term the Egyptian Government may enter into full possession, on paying to the company the value of the plant and material.*

Unless the financial condition of Egypt should greatly improve in the interval, the property is not very apt to change hands and revert to Egypt, at the expiration of that term.

* See Appendix A.

CHAPTER III.

OLD AND NEW CAIRO.

Approach to Cairo—Sights and scenes *en route*—Wayside views and voices—"Baksheesh, Howadji!" the same old tune—Nature and man unchanged—Startling changes in the environs of Cairo—Disappearance of walls and appearance of new boulevards, *à la Haussmann*—Surprise in store for the returning pilgrim after ten years' absence—What cannot now be seen from Shepherd's balcony—Cairo as it was and as it is—The old quarter and the new.

WE approached Cairo about sunset, hot, tired, and dusty after our ride through the desert, the fine sand of which, blown by a strong steady wind, drifted in through the crevices of the closed windows, and powdered our persons and dresses with a perfect coating of impalpable dust. After reaching the cultivated region we were freed from this annoyance, and the latter half of our journey was very agreeable. The general appearance of this cultivated country, and the sights and sounds that greet you at each successive railway station, are much the same as of yore, and familiar to all old Egyptian tourists. These seem stereotyped, and you still see the same flat garden-like country, with its eternal carpet of verdure of different shades in patches, presenting the appearance of a vast farm from the absence of trees. You pass numerous Arab villages, with their clusters of mud-huts, swarming with

chickens and children, crowned by the domes and minarets of the small mosques, which give a pictorial aspect to their squalor. You see long lines of laden camels swinging, and hideous water-oxen plodding by, and the inevitable old Arab in the single blue shirt jogging by on the donkey, so small that the man's legs with difficulty avoid touching the ground. At each station, looking out of the window of your carriage, you encounter the usual salutations from the small and exceedingly dirty orange and water vendors, all children; and dirty hands of professional or amateur beggars are thrust in the window, with hoarse, guttural prayers for "backsheesh!" the owners of all of which voices seem clad in the same old blue rags they wore years before. An adjunct to this scene is usually a group of soldiers, either just enlisted or just discharged, who are squatting on their hams, chewing sugar-cane or smoking—always waiting for something or somebody, and distinguishable from the surrounding crowd only by being cleaner and better dressed. They are the mildest mannered soldiers in the world.

It is unlucky for the traveller, and for the population, that during his transit by rail he comes in contact with the idlest and least attractive portion of the natives, who hang around the stations to pick up a few paras or piastres. Taking these as fair specimens, his estimate of the population would be low indeed.

But it is on approaching the Cairo station that the great improvement of that city and its suburbs, becomes perceptible to the visitor who has been absent for several years. He rubs his eyes, and almost distrusts his vision; for, looking up the Shoubra road which leads into Cairo, as well as outside the former limits of the city, where

formerly stretched for miles fields under cultivation, he now sees, far as his eyes can reach, in every direction well-built and even palatial residences, surrounded by gardens, adding on new cities, for several miles. The old Cairo was formerly surrounded by high and massive walls, and entered by a wide gate, both of which have disappeared, while broad boulevards open an easy way into the city and out to the desert. Passing over where wall and gate used to stand, new surprises await the returning visitor. The old has give place to the new; and blocks of high buildings have replaced the picturesque old tumble-down erections of mud and wood, four stories high, with jealously latticed windows jutting out into the street.

But when you descend at Shepheard's Hotel, your astonishment reaches its climax, and you rub your eyes as hard as Rip Van Winkle; for the great characteristic feature of the Cairo of old, the Ezbekieh,—the pride, the glory of the city and people—has utterly vanished! Where once waved the branches of the stately sycamores planted by Mehemet Ali, are now to be seen only solid blocks of stone houses, with arcades in imitation of those of the Rue de Rivoli at Paris. Over three-fourths of the space formerly occupied by that primitive garden-wilderness, so dear to the memory of its old *habitués*, who used to sit every evening and night under its grand trees, sipping coffee and smoking nargilehs, on those Cairene nights brighter than western days, while an endless procession of natives and Levantines passed under its leafy arcades, are imitation European houses and shops. The garden has vanished like a dream. The same change has swept over the aspect of all four sides of the square which surrounded that great park, or garden, whose disappearance I have lamented.

The quaint old Eastern buildings, with their latticed windows, and entrances beneath by a small door pierced in a thick wall, through which you passed into an inner open court in which was tethered a donkey, passing up a flight of break-neck, narrow winding stone steps to enter the house—all these, too, have followed the Ezbekieh, and their fronts at least are now on European models: square, formal, uniform, hideous-looking imitations of the ugliest architecture in the world, replacing the most picturesque if not the most comfortable or convenient. A small portion of the old Ezbekieh has been saved from the building mania, but so “translated” that its oldest friend scarce recognizes it as an acquaintance; for, originally the least wooded and most unattractive portion of the old open space, it has been converted into a French or German tea-garden, under the auspices of a French ornamental gardener, partly on the trim Versailles model, partly in imitation of the Bois de Boulogne, with even its little artificial lake with swans in it, and small mock-steamers for sailing over three feet of water.

The garden, however, which boasts of about forty acres, enclosed in a high railing, is a very pretty one, and in hot weather affords a most pleasant retreat from the dust and glare of the outside world. It has rock grottoes, and restaurants, and also an open-air theatre; and every afternoon one of the military bands “discourses most excellent music” for public benefit. But the foreign population is too lazy or too busy to come every evening; and the band, punctiliously performing daily, wastes its sweetness generally on the heedless ears of a few nurses and children, reinforced by an occasional traveller. On Sundays and religious festivals, however, there is a crowd; and a very

motley crowd it is, composed of all the numerous races that go to make up the nationality we designate the Levantine.

The natives—especially the lower class—have abandoned the spot, squatting, smoking, and story-telling elsewhere, in more shady and less formal precincts. To find them at home, you must now either go into the country, or burrow down into those portions of the city, which the march of improvement and the Khedive have not yet reached.

Passing through this garden, and under the long colonnades of the new buildings that hem it in, you emerge on the old Mooskie—as the quarter of European shops is called—and here you recognize an old acquaintance, but little smarter or more European than formerly. The fine new shops (many of them worthy of Paris or London) are in the Ezbekieh quarter, newly built; while here the small Levantine traders and shopkeepers still vend their miscellaneous wares in unchanged dirt and squalor, in the midst of crowds of natives, waddling along on foot, or mounted on donkeys circling around the unclean street like flies, with apparently as little industrial effort—a good-tempered, dirty, unimprovable tribe, whom water and improvement never touch.

But the banished old Ezbekieh of twelve years ago is not the only lost vision for which the returning pilgrim vainly strains his wondering eyes. Other equally familiar friends, once daily visible in his walks and rides about the city, have equally disappeared.

As he was wont to sit under the stately sycamores of the Ezbekieh, there used, at eventide, to prance gaily by a cavalcade of gay and gallant-looking Eastern cavaliers, splendidly habited in Oriental costume, mounted on Arab

steeds of great beauty and price, whose crimson velvet Turkish saddles were stiff with cloth of gold, and whose silken bridle-reins were studded with precious stones. Preceded by the running Berber syce, in his picturesque costume of white shirt, crimson sash or belt, and bare legs of ebony, and attended at the stirrup by pipe-bearer, *nargileh* in hand, whose long flexible tube was often in the hand of the rider, these proud-looking beys and pachas used to file slowly by, looking neither to the right nor the left, to the admiration of the motley crowd ever circulating about or squatting under the trees of the *Ezbekieh*.

Then also, ambling past on their sleek donkeys—huge bundles of black silk like unto balloons, and with imperious veils, through which only two bright eyes were perceptible, escorted by the zealous eunuchs—could be seen in part the ladies of the harem: disdainful of side-saddles, and riding astride like men, as a yellow shoe perceptible on each side of the donkey conclusively proved.

To these sights on the *Ezbekieh* there were added many others of a purely Oriental character; such as the long string of laden camels, with their serpent-like neck and crests, grunting hoarsely as though in complaint or wrath, as they swung along their ungainly bulk and burdens, moving the two legs on the same side simultaneously. Occasionally, but rarely, the carriage of some European or Europeanized pacha passed; but that was the most unusual kind of locomotion. The small coffee-houses on the *Ezbekieh*—mere booths or sheds as they were—constituted an attractive feature on summer evenings, when all the Levantine, and much of the Egyptian world—that strange amalgam of all races—came to sip coffee or fiery "*raki*," smoke and talk scandal, in front of these booths where

chairs were placed; while a band of Italian exiles made music at intervals, passing round the hat for contributions.

At the opposite side of the Ezbekieh, nearest the Mooskie, or street of Frank shops, the Arab population were accustomed nightly to assemble, squatting on their haunches in primitive Arab fashion, in a circle around some favourite story-teller giving them a re-hash of the "Thousand and One Nights' Stories," still current coin throughout the East; only with added coarseness, adapting them to coarser audiences. Here, too, came the dancing and singing girls, to win piastres or paras by the display of their respective crafts, in the open air, to delighted audiences. But, like the mirage of the desert, with the old Ezbekieh these sights and sounds, so truly Oriental, have passed away from the vision of the traveller, as he sits on the verandah of his hotel. All is now decorous, dull and European in the prim gardens, which usurp a portion of that vanished pleasure-ground, which, picturesque as it was, must be confessed to have been a public nuisance in many respects, however "sentimental travellers" may bewail the substitution of cleanliness and order for dirt and disorder, savoury for unsavoury smells. Much sentimental rubbish has been written about this improvement of Cairo; but, in a sanitary and progressive point of view, no sensible man or woman, however sentimental, can deny the improvement and growth of Cairo, under the demolishing tendencies of the Khedive. The change in the modes of conveyance, however, may merit regret; for now, instead of "mounting barbed steeds," the pachas and beys, and other native gentlemen, who used to be seen prancing by in all their bravery, loll lazily back in open victorias or barouches,

drawn by sorry jades, and driven by very dirty Arab charioteers, smoking strong cigars of German origin, and habited in Frank dress, with only the red fez cap to mark their nationality.

The carriages of the Khedive, of his sons and of some of the ministers, are well appointed, with fine horses, and still preceded by running syces, and accompanied by guards in uniform; but the great majority of these turn-outs would not pass muster on London cab-stands. It must be confessed, that to see Egyptian officials and private gentlemen lolling back in carriages, and smoking cigarettes or cigars in place of pipes, does bewilder old Eastern travellers; and that such will also mourn the disappearance of the pipe and nargileh, formerly the symbol and pledge of Eastern hospitality, since the *chibouque* was always tendered to every guest by public and private persons, until another *régime* abolished them. They have been "improved" away; and, save in the public coffee-houses and among the common people, the cigar and cigarette have superseded them.

In the outdoor life, the only touch of the Orient left is afforded by the constant apparition, or rather flitting by of the hareems, whose fair representatives very freely take the air, and pass and repass constantly in front of the great hotels, wherein the travellers do congregate, in their well-guarded carriages—one of the last relics of the old system visible to the eye. Yet their habits, too, have undergone a great change. No longer are they ambulating or equestrian balloons of black silk perched on donkeys, or concealed in closed carriages; although the inevitable and irremovable black guards still "guide their steps and guard their rest," as in the days when Byron sang of

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them. Standing in the front of your hotel, you see the veiled fair ones of the harem slowly borne past, at morning and eventide, in the neatest Parisian or English *coupés*, drawn by the finest English horses, and dressed in the latest Parisian modes—all except the face, which, half hidden, half revealed, is covered with a gossamer veil, which also drapes the bosom. This veil, of the most cobweb lace, does not prevent their seeing and even saluting occasionally the passing stranger, to the great disgust of their sable guards; and the intensity with which they regard the outer world from the windows of their carriages, augurs well for their thirst for information. All the follies of European fashion have been, I am told, transferred to the East; for European costume is now the rage in the hareems, and Lyons silks of brightest colours, and French boots with impracticable heels, have succeeded the flowing draperies and shuffling slippers and baggy breeches of the Eastern fair ones. Frank women who have visited freely in the hareems for the last two winters, deprecate this *changé* fully as much as any of our sterner sex can do; and declare that it not only robs the harem of all its romance, but most decidedly diminishes the peculiar beauty of its inmates.

The Ismailieh quarter of Cairo is entirely a new creation within the last six or seven years, and is one of the prettiest portions of the city. In order to encourage the erection of good houses for the European and Europeanized residents, and to attract new ones from abroad, the Khedive offered to give building lots, of the value of £2000 and upwards, to every person who would build thereon a house of a fixed value; rising in proportion to the estimated worth of the gift. The bait took, and the

lots mapped out in the rear of the great hotels, where there were no buildings, on the outskirts of the city, in the direction of Boulak—the old port of Cairo—were soon snatched up; and a new town of several thousands of houses soon occupied the site. Most of these are good substantial houses, in imitation of Swiss *châlets* or English houses; and some are very fine, costing as much as £20,000. Almost all have gardens surrounding them, some very spacious ones; for reserved lots were purchased by enterprising natives in the vicinity. These latter are chiefly the native or Levantine bankers, who are the richest class in the community; and some of the pachas have also built large houses on the Eastern plan, hareem accommodation included. One of the largest and finest of the Frank houses is that of Mr. Remington, the well-known arms-manufacturer, who has armed the Khedive's troops. The Duke of Sutherland is another foreign real estate proprietor at Cairo; the English Club occupying one-half of the large house he caused to be built.

I do not know the exact population of the Ismailieh quarter; but it includes a greater portion of the foreign population of Cairo, with a large sprinkling of richer Levantines. Some of the dwellings are quite palatial in their proportions, and there is very little of the Eastern element perceptible about them generally in this neighbourhood; even the inevitable black Boab (or door-keeper) of former times, in loose shirt, naked legs, red morocco shoes, and ample turban, with shaven head and snowy beard, having disappeared. His sole duty used to be his real or supposed guardianship of the gate or door leading into his employer's house; where, night and day, he was to be seen squatting or stretched at length on his *cafass*,

or palm-twigg seat and bed, the Cerberus of the establishment. But he was a solemn old fraud as to his police functions, I am sorry to say, although a most pictorial one—a Cerberus not even requiring a sop to silence him : habitually asleep all day, and generally requiring to be awakened by visitors of good intentions ; and either reveling, or prowling about like a dissipated old mouser, at night, when he was supposed to be the guardian of the gate, in reality as well as in name. Still he was a necessary adjunct to Eastern life, and especially to the picturesque presentation of it.

He was evidently the parent and progenitor of the French *concierge*, and like him or her a domestic spy, paid by the occupant of the house he does not protect ; and in all disagreeable features the European imitation is a greater nuisance than the Eastern—the latter, at least, being civil to his master and to strangers ; the former, like the ancient Roman, regarding every stranger as an enemy. Yet I confess I miss, at Cairo, the grisly old vagabond “dweller of the threshold.”

The last Government census of Cairo dates from 1868 ; and in the interval of nine years, as the natural increase, especially among the native population, is rapid, the figures in that return mostly fall far short of the actual numbers to-day.

In that table the number of strangers resident at Cairo is given as 19,120, but the list includes some strangers of Eastern origin. The total population of the capital at that date is estimated at 350,399, males and females, although of course the female population must be taken on trust by the census takers ; owing to the domestic arrangements of the native Cairenes.

It struck me—returning after an absence of several years, three seasons since—that the climate had perceptibly changed, being colder in winter and hotter in summer than formerly. It certainly is more damp; and rainy and cloudy days, which used to be very rare apparitions, are now not unfrequent in winter, and fires, morning and evening, quite necessary for comfort during such changes of the weather. This is accounted for by the larger space of water open to evaporation all over the Delta and through the desert, by the canals of various kinds, which have been so greatly increased in number and size during the last ten years.

Finally, with all due respect to the “spirit of the age,” as exemplified at Cairo, and the Khedive’s improvement of my favourite city, I must express the opinion, that for that climate the old system of narrow streets, and exclusion of too much sunshine, together with the old plan of Eastern building, were best suited to the climate, place, and people.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDERS OF THE DYNASTY.

Mehemet Ali—Soldier of fortune—Satrap and viceroy—Parallel between the Napoleons of the East and of the West—His strange career—Dreams of an Arab empire, like that of the caliphs—Why he failed in establishing it—England's interposition—Rage of the trapped lion—Cloudy close of a bright day—Personal traits and anecdotes of Mehemet Ali—His son Ibrahim, regent and successor—His short lease of power—Can his dream be now fulfilled?—Reasons for the establishment of an Arab empire at the present moment.

AUGUSTUS boasted that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble.

Mehemet Ali, founder of Egypt and of the present Egyptian dynasty, within the memory of men yet alive, found Alexandria a mass of ruins and rubbish, a nest of needy fishermen and pirates, and left it a city. He found all Egypt a chaos, he left it a country.

The Egypt of the Pharaohs, familiar to all readers of the Old Testament, and the Egypt of the early Christians, so vividly depicted in Kingsley's "*Hypatia*," where Goth, Greek, and Roman struggled for the mastery, differed not more widely from each other in all respects, than from the country we know by that name to-day; which, in its turn, varies as widely from the Egypt of the Mamelukes, known to the previous generation.

For the impress of the first Napoleon was not more strongly stamped on the empire he founded, than that of Mehemet Ali upon the country and dynasty of his creation : wrung from his trembling suzerain, the Sultan, at the sword's point, and welded together by one man's genius and courage.

As the bronze equestrian statue of "the Napoleon of Egypt" looks proudly down to-day from the Grand Plaza of Alexandria, seeming to keep watch and ward over the city of his love : so the mighty shadow of its founder still seems to rule Egypt from its urn, and protect it from the shortcomings and sins of some, if not all, of his successors.

There are curious coincidences in the characters and careers of the two "men of destiny" in the East and in the West. Both were aliens in blood and birth to the countries and people over which they established their rule, and founded their dynasties. Both were soldiers by profession, and statesmen and lawgivers by intuition. Both were crafty, cruel and unscrupulous, never sacrificing the end for the means, nor shrinking from acts of ruthless cruelty, when policy or self-preservation prompted their commission. The ambition of each was to found an empire, and to obtain the succession for his son and his son's sons for ever ; and this too both seemingly accomplished. What is stranger still, is that the heritage left by the rude Eastern soldier of fortune, has lasted longer than the far greater one bequeathed by the mighty genius of modern Christendom, whose puppets and playthings were kings and crowns. As though to complete the parallel, the two were almost as kindred in fate as in renown ; the end of each being equally tragic. The Corsican ate out

his own heart in exile on the barren rock of St. Helena ; the soldier from Cavalla died a prisoner in his own palace, the ghastly wreck of his former self, his fine mind and iron will shattered by madness, alternating between moody despondency and frenzy, until his practical deposition became a State necessity, and his warrior son, Ibrahim Pacha, was compelled to seat himself in the chair of his yet living father. As though to make this sad story sadder still, it is said the madness came from a potion administered through superstition or mistaken kindness by one of his daughters, who was told she could thus restore the old man's waning powers, but whose fatal draught consigned him to a living death. True or false, the story is still repeated and believed in Egypt.

His dream of empire he soon converted into a reality. From insubordination to the Porte, he soon broke out into open rebellion ; and not only seized on the Egyptian provinces, but invaded both Arabia and Syria, through his warlike son Ibrahim, and even menaced Constantinople. His troops actually occupied Syria, and his purpose was to found an empire like that of the caliphs, over all the Arabic-speaking people ; leaving the Porte those only who spoke the Turkish tongue. But then a greater power intervened between the rebellious vassal and the powerless lord ; the Great Powers of Europe (with the exception of France) interposed, and by menace and force of arms wrested the prey from the old lion, and compelled him to renew his allegiance, and renounce his projects of extended empire.

It required the presence of an English fleet at Alexandria, to compel him to sign a treaty of peace with his sovereign, and resign his conquests ; tearing out handfuls

of his white beard in his wrath, under the compulsion while he did so. But he insisted on the retention of the viceroyalty in his line for ever, and for quasi-independence of the Porte in the same treaty guaranteed by the Powers which compelled the act of abdication.

What Mehemet Ali did, in and for Egypt, has passed into history. He created not only an empire, but a people, out of the dozen different nationalities which then, as now, constitute the strange amalgam we vaguely term Egyptians. Everywhere throughout Egypt and its dependencies, the hand of the mighty master is still to be seen in the traces it has left—from the Mahmoudieh Canal, connecting the waters of the Nile with the Mediterranean, to the fairy-like pleasure gardens of Shoubra, near Cairo; from the gigantic, but still uncompleted barrage, or breakwater of the Nile, to the grand old sycamore trees, which give their beautiful shade to the gardens and the roads around Cairo and Alexandria. The career of Mehemet Ali is as familiar to every one as that of Napoleon, whose footsteps he followed in the conquest of Egypt; and whose fiercest foes (the Mamelukes) he crushed at one fell blow, combining craft, cruelty, and treachery in the act which self-preservation dictated. The man's character should not be judged by this episode alone, nor weighed in our balance; for he was capable of being swayed by high and generous impulses—with more of the lion than the wolf in his nature—and the necessity was very pressing and very sore. So it is but fair to judge him by the canons of his own time, place, and people, which condoned his crime, and the terrible retribution dealt on the savage oppressors and spoilers of Egypt, who menaced his life,

and meditated against him the treachery in which he anticipated them.

Rid of this impediment, by alternate force and fraud he worked his way doggedly on to place and power: subduing first one province, then another, in the name of his suzerain, the Sultan, and welding together into one mass, and under one rule, the scattered and warring tribes and factions composing Egypt. Nor did he confine himself to those limits, but carried fire and sword and the terror of his name into the desert, among the tameless Bedouins, then, far more than now, the scourge and terror of the peaceful peasant who had aught to pillage. Having done all this in another's name, he began to be weary of vassalage to his inferior in mind and manhood, and commenced to plot and plan for shaking off his fetters, and founding an independent empire.

He brought order out of chaos; he invited and encouraged European immigration, and especially European merchants, to develop the rich resources of the country, neglected and despised by the warlike chieftains, who had been ruling it with a rod of iron, and making it the theatre of perpetual little local wars. Yet his mistakes, like his successes, were on a great scale; and inherited by his successors too. Entertaining the notion, so common to uneducated minds, that a country to be independent and prosperous should produce within its own borders everything requisite for the use of its population, he sought to put this idea into practice in Egypt. Nature had made Egypt agricultural, Mehemet Ali determined she should be manufacturing too! Regardless of expense, he imported large quantities of costly machinery, with skilled operatives at high wages,

erecting vast mills all over the Delta, that manufactures on a large scale might be produced. The skeleton ruins of those mills, many of them still filled with the rusty remains of the machinery left there when the failure was manifest, attest the cost of the lesson given this Eastern Canute, whose will was to override all natural laws. His successors have not profited, as they should have done, by this useful lesson; for similar wreck and waste may be witnessed to-day all over the country, both of mills and machinery, of later date than the days of the great founder of the line of viceroys in name, but kings in reality, one of whom still sits upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

He also strained the finances of the country by his lavish expenditure, and it is curious to read in the annals of his contemporaries of the straits to which he was often reduced, and his sudden and inexplicable command of money from no visible source. History in Egypt repeats itself more curiously than elsewhere, as well as the personal traits of its rulers, and the mystery which envelops the proceedings, not only of its officials, but of its finances, which have ever appeared and disappeared in a truly wonderful and inexplicable manner.

The early period was the golden age for the foreign merchants, invited by Mehemet Ali to develop the commerce of the country, to whom he gave very large commissions for the purchase of what he required, and great facilities for enriching themselves. Englishmen, Greeks, and Italians came at his call, and established great houses, and were merchant princes indeed, their scale of living being proportionate to their vast operations and immense gains. They lived in houses as large as

palaces, kept large retinues of servants and retainers, entertained magnificently and with the greatest profusion, and were lavish in expenditure. One of these, a Tuscan, kept twenty carriages, that he might always be able to send them to convey his guests to and from their residences; his palace, surrounded by magnificent gardens, being four miles out of town. Another reserved every Friday evening, during the winter season, for a grand ball at his mansion, in addition to grand dinners three times a week. The latter relic of those good old days survived to the patriarchal age of 90 years, in full possession of his faculties; and continued his hospitalities down to the third generation of his guests.

Grand as were the prizes offered, and great the fortunes accumulated in the days of the earlier viceroys, strange to say the number of Europeans attracted there was comparatively small always. As late as 1852 there were not more than 20,000 foreigners at Alexandria, and 2000 at Cairo. Yet the absolute rule of Mehemet Ali may be said to have commenced full forty years before.

If the viceroy was lavish of the earnings of his subjects, he was not sparing of their flesh and blood; and the condition of the fellah, or agricultural labourer, then was very much worse than his lot to-day, for he was then treated as a slave and serf (*adscriptus glebæ*), whose labour was compulsory, paid by enough coarse food to keep body and soul together, and enough rough covering to conceal partially his or her nakedness. He could not leave his native village to settle elsewhere without special permission from the governor of his province. If he ventured he was caught, bastinadoed, and taken back to his usual toil in the usual place, if not sent to the army or the

galleys. By forced *corvées* he was compelled to labour on the public works without pay, and often without food, unless he brought it with him, through the rascality of the subordinate officials, who robbed him of that which the Government was supposed to supply, but never stinted him of the bastinado. In fact, he was treated like a brute, and compelled to live like a beast. His lot is certainly somewhat ameliorated now, yet there is still great room for improvement in the condition and treatment of the Egyptian peasantry—the most amiable, patient drudges in the world, constituting as they do the bone and muscle of the country, and the source of all its wealth and productiveness.

When Mehemet Ali caused the Mahmoudieh Canal to be dug by fellah labour, cutting a broad ditch to connect the waters of the Nile with the sea at Alexandria—a work of vast utility before the railway communication existed—he is said to have sacrificed to it the lives of many thousands of these poor wretches; set to dig with no proper tools, under the burning sun of Egypt, labouring day and night under cruel taskmasters, without food or shelter. The pyramid of skulls erected by the savage Eastern warrior, was not a sterner *memento mori*, nor a more tragic record, than the Mahmoudieh Canal. The terrible burden of the old song—

“A pickaxe, and a spade, a spade!
Ay! and a winding sheet,”

might have been chanted by these poor wretches of the Nile, who thus dug their own graves while digging this canal. But on this subject I shall have more to say when treating of the fellah as he was and as he is; not the “fellah” of M. About’s charming fiction, but the

grimy and oppressed reality, owing all the blessings he enjoys chiefly to God's good grace, and his hardships to "man's inhumanity to man," which does literally "make countless thousands mourn" in the old house of bondage, where the nominal slave has not really the heaviest fetters to wear.

To return to the maker of Egypt. Although totally uneducated, and therefore destitute of much general information, the natural genius of the man and his quick mother-wit supplied to a great extent his want of culture. His readiness of retort was worthy of a French wit. One illustration may suffice to show its quality. A French engineer being asked what he thought of the plan of the Mahmoudieh Canal, while it was in course of completion, ventured this criticism :

"Your Highness must pardon my suggesting that your canal will be very crooked."

"Do your rivers in France run in a straight line?" abruptly responded the Pacha.

"Certainly not," answered the astonished Frenchman.

"Who made them? Was it not Allah?" again questioned the Pacha.

"Assuredly, your Highness," replied the Frenchman, who thought his questioner's wits were wandering, and could not comprehend what he was aiming at.

"Well, then," answered Mehemet Ali, triumphantly, "do you think that either you or I know better than Allah how water ought to run? I imitated him in my canal; otherwise it would soon have been a dry ditch, not a canal."

The Frenchman was silenced, if not convinced; and the canal is certainly very crooked still.

Like all Eastern rulers, the grim old warrior, nursed from boyhood in the lap of war, was to a certain extent a voluptuary, although he never allowed his pleasures to interfere with his duties or his ambitious schemes. The gleaming white walls of the palace of Ras el 'Tin, which first strike the traveller's eye on entering the harbour of Alexandria, mark one of his favourite resorts. Another was the garden of Shoubra, near Cairo, in which he built a spacious kiosque of white marble, embowered in tropical foliage, where the golden orange glows in the midst of the dark green foliage, and the senses ache with the perfume of roses and other fragrant flowers. It was a lofty building in the form of a hollow square; and in the central open space, over which there was no roof, like the old impluvium, was an artificial lake, about four feet deep, paved with marble, with an elevated marble resting-place in the centre.

Here, when his beard was like snow, and his blood circulated more slowly, the old man was wont to repair, to relax mind and body from the fatigues and cares of State. Perched on this central seat, he would amuse himself for hours, watching the gambols or the fright of his hareem women, who he would cause to be rowed or paddled about in small boats around this mimic lake, at a secret signal from himself to the boatmen causing them to be upset into the water, and witnessing with delight their struggles afterwards. Strange contrariety of human nature! that this grim old soldier, whose savage nature and fierce eye (as we see in his latest portraits) even years could not tame or subdue; stained with the blood of the slaughtered Mamelukes, and surrounded by tragic memories, should have found pleasure in such childish

sport as this, even when trembling on the verge of the grave!

But in every Eastern nature—which essentially differs from the Western—we find the extremes of ferocity and levity blended incongruously together; and the Pacha who inspires you with fear or with admiration one moment, by some childish act converts both into contempt or pity. But Mehemet Ali was an exceptional man, both in the evil and the good he wrought in and upon Egypt, of which the latter predominated. Let us bury the former and forget it; in memory of the latter, which lives after him, and embalms his memory in the annals of modern Egypt.

Of his successor for a short term, his warrior son Ibrahim, who swept like a flame through Syria and Arabia, and was the sword-hand of his father, his military genius was his chief characteristic, and the record of his battles the record of his life. The pious care of his son, the present Khedive, has erected a fitting monument to his memory, in the spirited equestrian bronze statue, which he has caused to be placed at Cairo, overlooking an open square near the Mooskie, or quarter of European shops. Mounted on his war-horse, which seems to snuff the battle afar off, with outstretched arm pointing out farther conquests to his fierce followers, he looks every inch a soldier, and born leader of men on the battle-field. What his abilities as a civilian or viceroy may have been he did not reign long enough to develop; and he has therefore left no mark upon Egyptian administration or Egyptian affairs; though, during his administration as his father's representative in Syria, he is said to have displayed considerable administrative ability. Personally

he seems to have been a bold, frank man, a warm friend, and equally good hater, though not vindictive or cruel; but, as before remarked, it is as a soldier chiefly that he will be remembered. He once visited London, and was known to the ragged boys of the metropolis, to whom a Turk was then a rarity, as *Abraham Parker*! into which they translated his patronymic, on the phonetic principle.*

In view of recent events, and of the impending disintegration of that huge colossus, by courtesy styled the Turkish Empire, over whose broken fragments there must be a European scramble ere long, the question now suggests itself, whether the Power which thwarted the project of Mehemet Ali, might not now wisely resuscitate and perfect it?

An Arab empire, with Egypt at its head, embracing Syria and Palestine on the one side, and Arabia on the other, under a protectorate of two or more of the Great Powers, would oppose a breakwater to Russian aggression on the one hand, and relieve that alien race from the exactions and misgovernment of the Porte, which has amply proved its unfitness to govern, and which in fact does not govern them; the limits of its authority being those of its garrisoned towns, outside of which protection from native sheiks is essential for the traveller's safety, and of whose nominal rule the tax-gatherer is the only representative. Such a rule as has made Tunis a responsible government, and is redeeming Egypt from its "Slough of Despond," by the introduction of real, not sham improvements in its internal administration, could

* His reign lasted but seventy days after his inauguration.

as readily be established over the countries I have named, combined into a federation, whose centre would be Egypt, as the Arab-speaking country, already so far advanced on the march towards civilization.

It seems equally impossible now, to allow the rich countries named to languish much longer under the sickly beams of the waning Crescent, to be annexed to the Russian Empire even in part, or to be allowed to relapse into still greater anarchy than that which reigns therein to-day, in view of their importance strategically and commercially, lying as they do in part on the route to India. Among the various propositions made as to the partition of the Turkish Empire, it strikes me as surprising, that British statesmen have not, as in the case of the Suez Canal, reconsidered and reversed the policy of their predecessors, and made the dream of old Mehemet Ali, which they so rudely dissipated, a reality in the hands of his successors; under good and sufficient guarantees and proper securities that the powers thus conferred should not be abused, but exercised for the benefit and improvement of the most intelligent, docile, and laborious of all the races of the East, whose only ties to the Turk are now, as they ever have been, those of faith, subjugation, and taxation.

My own experience of these countries and people convinces me, that the accomplishment of this scheme would be comparatively easy now—far easier, in fact, than that which the gallant Gordon is now attempting, in the interests of civilization and humanity, among the savage negro races of Central Africa.

CHAPTER V.

ABBAS PACHA.

Accession of Abbas Pacha—Personal description of him—His peculiar character and habits—A Turk of the Turks—Contrasted with Saïd Pacha—His treatment of his people—The new "house of bondage" under him—His closing tragedy—A dead man's drive—His son El-Hami—A fated family line.

MEHEMET ALI and Ibrahim Pacha were before my time in Egypt, and of them I speak merely from history and from hearsay, having associated subsequently with those who had been intimately acquainted with both these rulers of men. All of their successors I have known well, and have been brought into intimate official and private connection with them for many years. Of them therefore I can speak from personal knowledge, including the Khedive Ismail, who inherits many of the traits of his great progenitors as an administrator and manager of men, but whose ambition, though equal to his ancestor's, does not work through the sword or through force, but through diplomacy and persuasion.

Between the reigns of Ibrahim Pacha and the Khedive's two others intervened, those of Abbas Pacha and of Saïd Pacha, who, though partaking of the same blood, and members of the same family, differed from each other in every particular and in every quality, physical and moral.

Far as the poles asunder were these two men, and as opposite the impression made and left by each of them upon their common heritage. Abbas was a sullen, suspicious, timid tyrant, hating and fearing the European element his grandfather had introduced, and striving to put back the shadow on the dial-plate of progress moving in the direction of European civilization. Though born and bred in Egypt, he was a Turk of the Turks.

His complexion was much darker than that of the majority of his family, most of whom are fair, with reddish beards. Abbas was swarthy, with a scanty beard, short and stout of figure, with a bloated, sensual face, and dull, cruel eyes. Yet there was both energy and intelligence manifested in this repulsive countenance, when warmed into interest or animation on any matter that touched him nearly. His manners, like those of all high Turks, were bland and polished; for in all that constitutes perfect good breeding the Eastern surpasses the average Western man. Of his morals the less said the better, if Alexandrian and Cairene gossip can be relied on. But on this point I cannot testify from personal knowledge, not having ever been on the same intimate terms with him, socially, as with his two successors.

He understood and spoke no European language—an exception in his family, all the rest of whom have a thorough knowledge at least of French—and therefore always conversed with foreign agents, whom he saw as seldom as possible, through the medium of an interpreter, which of course prevented much interchange of ideas or feelings; for decanted *champagne frappé* is not flatter or colder, than conversation thus carried on. If in his relations with foreigners he was unsympathetic, in his con-

duct towards his own people he was arbitrary, rapacious, and cruel to the last degree. The possession of wealth was often only a passport to Fazougli (the Egyptian Cayenne) for its proprietor, and the confiscation of the property, "for treason," to the State (that is, the viceroy's) coffers.

With foreigners he could not meddle—they were safe under their consular protection—nor could he expel them for the same reason; but trade was crippled under his reign, since even his avarice, which was great, could not conquer his prejudices, and induce him to encourage and foster the commerce of the country. With his own people his will was law: for he paid heavy backsheesh to Constantinople, partly to be let alone, and partly in the hope of changing the succession in favour of his son, El-Hami—a dream which every viceroy has indulged in, and which the Khedive has finally made a reality.

El-Hami was afterwards married to one of the Sultan's daughters, and kept in splendid slavery in Constantinople—as the sons-in-law ever are—and was finally drowned while on a pleasure party; being of a gay and festive turn of mind, and much addicted to the wines as well as the customs of France.

During the reign of Abbas the Crimean war broke out, and the Sultan called on his vassals for men and money, to which Abbas promptly responded; and Egyptian blood and treasure were as freely poured out as water on the sands, then, as now, to protract the death agony of the effete and imbecile dynasty of the Sublime Porte.

At the same time came an order from the Porte to expel from Egypt the entire Greek colony there, not enrolled as rayahs, or Christian subjects of the Porte; a measure the

cruelty of which may be appreciated, when it is stated that the execution of this harsh measure would have entailed swift and sure ruin on that whole community, numbering many thousands; among whom were many of the oldest and most respectable of the foreign residents and merchants. Their protests were not listened to, and they were given but forty-eight hours to leave the country. The consular corps, as a body, having declined to interfere in their behalf, on account of the political complications of their respective countries, it was my good fortune to have been enabled to take the responsibility of retaining and protecting these luckless people during the continuance of the war, by placing them under the protection of my flag—a privilege accorded all Christian Powers under the old capitulations—after much trouble, and diplomatic and personal pressure on the viceroy.

I must do Abbas Pacha the justice to say that in this matter he showed either good feeling or indifference, and did not press the execution of the stern edict with zeal. On the contrary, when representations came from the agents of other foreign Powers, as to his non-execution of this order, he simply shrugged his shoulders and said: "What can I do? These people have obtained another protection, and I cannot interfere with them, without insulting a great nation." So, after much diplomatic correspondence, the Greeks remained in Egypt, and the order was practically never enforced, except in a few instances where the parties were noisily partisan in their demonstrations or conversation. After the war was over, the King of Greece proffered me the Grand Cross of Sauveur, as a testimonial of his, and his people's gratitude.

The character of Saïd was precisely the reverse of that

of his nephew. A bold, frank, fearless, and reckless man, fond of foreign society, speaking French like a Parisian, and enjoying, of all things, the witty turns of which that language is capable; himself a wit of no mean calibre, and equally irreproachable in his cook and his cellar. It was like emerging from darkness into sunshine when he succeeded Abbas, who, though his nephew, preceded him under the provision of the firman decreeing that the succession should pass to the "eldest male of the blood of Mehemet Ali." Abbas was a little older than Saïd, and so inherited, owing his own succession to the terrible tragedy which removed his father from the line. That father having been sent by Mehemet Ali to demand tribute of a semi-savage chief in the Soudan, surnamed the "Tiger of Shendy," having insulted and struck him, was deliberately roasted alive in his tent the same night, together with his whole troop, by his treacherous and vindictive host, who surrounded the tents in which they were sleeping with dried corn-stalks and drove them back with their lances into the flames when they sought to escape. The fate of Abbas was as tragic as that of his father, he too perishing by perfidy and violence: and the shadow of his coming doom seems to have been stamped both on his countenance and his soul. He forboded that fate, and took extraordinary precautions to avoid it; and those very precautions rendered its execution all the more easy, although he surrounded himself with guards, banished men on mere suspicion, and ate no food that was not prepared by his old mother's hands, or under her immediate supervision.

Nothing is more indicative of character and disposition than the choice and surroundings of a man's residence.

Mehemet Ali, Ibrahim, and Saïd, all dwelt much in the public eye, chiefly at the palace of Ras el Tin looking on the sea, accessible to all comers. Their leisure hours they solaced either in the lovely gardens of Shonbra, where the plash of fountains, the scent of roses, and the songs of birds created an earthly paradise, which earthly houris were not lacking to complete; or they rehearsed the game of war under tents, with from 10,000 to 20,000 troops around them.

But Abbas lived as he died, alone. Seldom seen by his people, never by foreigners, except from necessity, his favourite haunts were secluded palaces, remote from cities and men, which he built in the desert. There, surrounded only by a few cringing slaves, and by the savage beasts he collected into menageries, he shrouded himself like Tiberius at Capri, and was as solitary in his death as in his life. He was strangled while he slept by two of his own slaves—boys sent him from Constantinople by a kinswoman—but the exact manner, as well as the inciting cause to his murder was, and is still, a mystery. The fact only is certain, as well as that of the ghastly farce which was played by the Governor of Cairo with the corpse of the dead man.

Summoned secretly and suddenly from Cairo, at the dead of night, to the Benha palace, twenty miles from Cairo, where the deed was done, Elfy Bey, the Governor of Cairo, gave strict orders that no one should divulge the death of Abbas. Ordering the state carriage to be brought to the private entrance, assisted by the head eunuch, he placed the body in a sitting posture within it, and taking his own seat opposite as usual, drove the twenty miles to Cairo, surrounded by guards and the

usual state, in this ghastly companionship. He reached the citadel at Cairo with his mute companion, without exciting suspicion, aided by the habitual shrinking from observation which characterized his master; and once there, caused the guns of the citadel to be pointed on the city, strongly reinforced the garrison, and declared the truth, together with his intention of proclaiming El-Hami viceroy in defiance of the rights of Saïd. This purpose he was induced to abandon on representations of Sir Frederick Bruce, the English consul-general, and myself—both of us then at Cairo—and our friendly, as well as formal warning that such action on his part would be treasonable, induced him to abandon the design, and to invite and welcome the new viceroy to Cairo; whither he came and was installed, without delay. The days of that governor were not long in the land, as he died very soon and very suddenly thereafter; removed doubtless by some super-serviceable courtier—for the character of Saïd forbade even the suspicion of his complicity in any act of treachery or cruelty.

But throughout the East, from the rivalry produced among brethren, through the system of polygamy producing separate families under the same roof, with separate interests, and in princely families more especially, a man's worst enemies are often literally "those of his own household;" and hence there has been little love lost among the descendants of Mehemet Ali. Saïd collected the scattered sticks of the faggot which Abbas had divided; but on his death they were scattered again—the two nearest in succession, Mustapha and Halim, settling down at Constantinople, where the Porte promoted them to high offices, and kept them *in terrorem* over the head of

Ismail. Of these, Mustafa, who was a great intriguer and able man, much distrusted by the Khedive, died but a year ago, and his family have been sent for and taken charge of by Ismail, who has also gained possession of his great landed estates, which Mustafa sold before his death. Halim is still alive; but his lands, too, including the Shoubra gardens, have also passed into the Khedive's hands. It is he whose succession was set aside by the Sublime Porte, in favour of Tewfik, the son of Ismail, but four years since. He holds, or did hold, one of the portfolios at Constantinople, and of him more anon; as, on the impending break-up of the Ottoman Empire, he and his claims may come to the surface again some day.

The young prince El-Hami was generously treated by Saïd, who allowed him to retain the bulk of his father's fortune, and showed friendly dispositions to him; but he died early, and with him ended the line of Abbas, whose wealth, too, passed away like an exhalation, in the hands of his improvident and reckless son.

But Abbas, as a ruler, was to a certain extent a success. He so managed the finances of Egypt as to keep clear of debt. Under his reign the railroad system was inaugurated—chiefly, it is true, under English pressure—to meet the wants of the Indian transit; agriculture was encouraged and developed, and many of the wild projects of his predecessor discontinued. Little as he loved the foreigner, he was cunning enough to see the uses to which he might be put; and though he did not encourage immigration, he did not interfere directly or openly with the trade and commerce carried on by the foreigners. The foreign agents, with whom he could only converse by proxy, were his bad dreams, and he avoided them as much as possible

—far less dreamed of entertaining them, as did his successor, on a scale of truly princely hospitality. Under him, Egypt increased and prospered materially, but not socially or morally; and the condition of the fellah during his term was that of a dumb drudge, a patient ox, for whose mental or bodily improvement his taskmaster had no care. Such was the condition of “the house of bondage” when Saïd succeeded Abbas in August, 1854.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF SAÏD PACHA.

Saïd Pacha's accession—The new era introduced by him—Reversal of his predecessor's policy, and private conduct—Attempt to bind together the family faggot—His social habits—His great *fêtes*—His princess, Ingee Khanum—His personal appearance and character—Resemblance physically and morally to "Bluff King Hal"—His military mania—Life under tents, and black knights in chain armour—His work in Egypt—A bright dawn and stormy sunset.

WITH the accession of Saïd Pacha a new era may be said to have commenced in Egyptian administration. He was one of the younger sons of Mehemet Ali, by a different mother from Ibrahim's, or the father of Abbas, and bore the traits of his fair Georgian mother in complexion and figure. Carefully educated by an accomplished French tutor (Koenig Bey), who took good charge of the morals as well as of the mind and manners of his pupil, Saïd Pacha was a gentleman in our acceptation of that term, a good French scholar, with some knowledge of English, a man of large and liberal views, and extremely fond of association with Europeans, whose manners and habits he had adopted in his private life: with the exception, of course, of his harem arrangements.

In policy, as well as in his habits and modes of thought, Saïd was the direct opposite of his predecessor; and it

was he who gave the first strong impulse to the improvements and progress which have, within the last twenty-two years, placed Egypt in the van of the great march of Western civilization eastwards, and given the performance as well as the promise of reform in administration and national life. For, in reversal of his predecessor's policy of isolation, he at once inaugurated a large and liberal policy of expansion. He invited and encouraged European immigration, and under his reign the foreign colony more than doubled its numbers. As late as 1854 the European residents at Alexandria did not exceed, if they amounted to, 20,000, and there were not more than 2000 at Cairo, with a few scattered over the villages in the Delta, representing Alexandrian houses. By encouraging foreign immigration, surrounding himself with European *employés* in the different administrations, inviting eminent engineers, and removing many of the restrictions on trade and commerce imposed by Abbas, the new viceroy gave a powerful impulse both to the agricultural and commercial development of the country. As his great father made the first step in the creation of the country, so Saïd may be credited with the second in its expansion, as the Khedive is entitled to the credit of having done much more to perfect what his predecessors planned. He recalled all the members of his own family from Constantinople and elsewhere, as well as many state prisoners languishing at Fazougli, and sought to make himself the father of his family connection, as well as of his people. In regard to the latter, he was fond of repeating the wish of Henri Quatre, when he said the height of his ambition was "that every peasant in his dominions should have a fowl in his pot every Sunday for his

dinner." As far as he could, Saïd carried out this sentiment; as I shall show when treating the subject of the Egyptian labourer later on.

The stranger who attended one of his receptions, or the entertainments which he gave on a scale of great magnificence, blending the European and the Eastern styles, and who fancied an Egyptian prince must be an Othello, with "a sooty visage," was ever surprised to find a counterpart of the portraits of Henry VIII. of England, in complexion, beard, face, and figure, in Saïd Pacha. The similarity in temper, manner, and character was equally striking, though the bluff manner was redeemed and softened, on public occasions, in the viceroy by that exquisite polish of manner, in which the Turkish gentleman excels. Even as regards the multiplicity of wives, the Englishman was more Eastern than Saïd: whose princess, Ingee Khanum, still surviving and living in state as his widow, one of the most charming and accomplished of Eastern women, by the concurring testimony of all who know her, shared his throne and his affections exclusively to the end of his life.

Saïd Pacha was fair, with a ruddy complexion, and reddish beard and hair; his features were regular, the expression of his face frank and open. His figure was large and muscular, indicating the immense personal strength which increasing corpulence and illness marred in his later years. His eyes, though small, were bright, and he did not, like most Turks, keep them habitually half closed; but they had none of the sleepy languor of his race, but flashed with fun or blazed with anger, as his excitable temper and changing mood moved him. Neither did he avoid a direct glance at his interlocutor, in

Eastern fashion, but looked straight in the face of the person with whom he was conversing. His readiness of wit, and the charm of his conversation (conducted in French, which he spoke as his mother tongue), rendered him a delightful companion; and he was convivial at the table, without going into excess — drinking wine in moderation, ever of the most superior quality. His “French cook,” who was an Arab, used to prepare for the breakfast dishes worthy of the most famous Parisian restaurants; Saïd appearing in the loose Turkish summer dress he wore in private, which made him look like a huge bale of cotton, being all of fine white linen. Generous to a fault, and liberal to prodigality, he pushed those virtues to excess, and was deceived and preyed upon by many whom he rewarded and trusted, until, like most princes, he became soured and distrustful in his later days. After a long and most intimate acquaintance with Saïd Pacha, without being blind to his faults and shortcomings, I can truly say that, in my widely varied experience of men and countries I have met no nobler and manlier nature than his, either Christian, Turk, or Infidel; and in his early prime, before disgust and disease had warped, though they never obliterated, his higher traits of character, he was every inch a king and a gentleman by God’s own patent. In imitation of Mehemet Ali, and in direct contradiction to Eastern etiquette, Saïd Pacha courted publicity, and was more easy of access than European monarchs, hedging himself in with as few formalities as he possibly could, in consonance with the prejudices of his people, who are strong believers in “the divinity that doth hedge a king.” He gave grand *fêtes* continually, to which all European men were free to come, whether in-

vited or not, at which he entertained the foreign consuls-general and distinguished visitors to Egypt right royally. His open-air *fêtes*, in which thousands participated, renewed the recollections of the "Thousand and One Nights," with the variegated lamps suspended from the trees of his palace parks, and the Oriental costumes of his courtiers and people. To these the European ladies passing through Cairo frequently came, but uninvited; the march of Frank customs not having yet been accelerated to the pace now followed by the Khedive, whose balls at Ab-din every winter are exact copies of European royal entertainments.

Said Pacha's natural instincts were those of a soldier, and as happily he had no opportunity of indulging them in actual warfare, he amused himself with its mimicry—paid great attention to the recruiting, equipment, drill, and manœuvring of his army, which he raised to the number of 50,000 men, and spent much time under tents, taking a large force with him into the desert to drill and manœuvre. He changed the Stambouli or "Frank" uniform, adopted by Abbas, back into the more appropriate Eastern costume; and in addition to his 30,000 or 40,000 infantry in baggy breeches, and jackets of white with metal buttons, equipped several squadrons of horse in fancy style.

One of the most striking of these was a troop of gigantic Nubians, clad from head to heel in the chain armour of the early Crusaders, with their black barbs in like panoply; and a grim troop they looked, with their jet black faces, black barbs, rolling white eyes, and rattling chain armour. Another troop seemed sheathed in gold, with bright brass breastplates on horse

and man, and glittering brass helmets on the riders—preserved from sunstroke, under that burning sun, by special grace of Allah alone.

His dinners were frequent, and the effect produced by alternate layers of European and native down the whole length of the long festive board, presenting such striking contrasts in costume and nationality, was curious in the extreme. The viceroy and the foreign agents dined at the head of the table on a raised platform, and the entire service at each remove was of gold, the epergnes, candelabra, etc., being all of the same precious metal. The ladies of the hareem, of course, were never visible; but, invisible to us, bright eyes looked down and watched the repast from peeping-places above, the hareem wing giving a view of the banqueting hall, so that the princess and her visitors could amuse themselves with the spectacle, without the trouble of entertaining the guests.

His restless nature kept him as busy in work as play. He was ambitious of leaving a high record behind him, and lent an ear to all schemes of public improvement and utility. He summoned Robert Stephenson, and a small army of engineers, to make several lines of railway, in addition to the one commenced under Abbas, which at his death was completed only to Cairo; and during his whole reign that work went bravely on. He employed the famous French engineer, Mougel Bey, to carry out the great breakwater, the Barrage of the Nile (to this day unfinished). He caused new canals to be cut and opened for irrigation; improved the condition of the fellahs, and tried to make large landed proprietors out of the more intelligent among them; removed onerous taxes and restrictions; built model villages for the fellahs;

and finally, when M. de Lesseps returned to Egypt—after leaving the French diplomatic service, in which he had served before in Egypt, while Saïd was a youth—took him under his patronage and protection, gave him the concession for the Suez Canal, which has made the fame and fortune of that energetic and adroit projector, and gave such practical aid, pecuniary and moral, subsequently to De Lesseps and his work, as insured the success of both; in commemoration of which the Mediterranean mouth of the canal bears his name. He also adopted the telegraph, extending the wires, not only from city to city, but high up the Nile—a startling innovation in Egypt, where the old semaphore signals had hitherto been regarded as the perfection of telegraphic communication. He introduced steam pumps and steam machinery of all kinds, for agricultural purposes, into Egypt, and kept Father Nile within his bed, out of which, as now, he annually at a given time roused him, to take a run over the country, instead of allowing him to tumble out himself in primitive fashion. The annual revenues of Egypt rose, under his judicious management, from its imports and exports, to £6,000,000 per annum—an increase to which the American civil war conduced, by creating a great demand and higher prices for Egyptian cotton. Remarking to me, on the breaking out of that war, “Well, if your people stop growing cotton, I shall be glad to supply their place,” he did strain every nerve to do so, greatly enriching Egypt by the increased production of that staple.

Before that war he had sent large orders to America, and obtained large supplies of American locomotives and open railway carriages, which he considered best adapted

for the hot climate of Egypt : ordering a very grand one for his private use, including house and kitchen as well.

He had connecting lines of rail run up to the back doors of his palaces, and when bored by visitors or consuls-general, would slip away in this house-carriage and stay somewhere on the road for several days, as a practical joke. I saw him last shortly before his death, in the summer of 1862, at Paris, whither he had gone to consult a famous surgeon as to the internal disease which was then destroying him. His increasing feebleness was rendered more perceptible from the huge bulk of his body, swollen and flaccid by disease. But his mind seemed still vigorous, though his eye was dull ; and his manner had lost little of its old charm, and his powers of retort were as keen and caustic as ever. He saw and submitted to his rapidly approaching doom, with the blended stoicism of the fatalistic Turk, and the resignation of the French *philosophe*, both of which characters were blended in his.

He died not long after, and was interred, not among the others of his line, who have stately mausoleums near Cairo, but in the burying ground of a small mosque in the centre of Alexandria, where his mother's remains also rest.

If the early morn of Saïd Pacha's reign was bright and smiling with promise, its close was dark and dreary enough to add another to the many examples, from "Macedonia's madman" to the Swede, to prove the vanity of human hopes, and the nothingness of human grandeur. He mounted the throne of Egypt in 1854, a gay, hopeful, ardent man, with vigorous health, boundless power, and

almost inexhaustible wealth. He left it but nine years later for a premature grave; his strength wasted to childish weakness by disease and trouble; hope, fortune, friends, all lost; and, with a soul as sick as his body, welcomed death as a release from suffering.

At my last interview with him, he expressed deep regret that he had saddled his country with a public loan and a public debt; and that he repented of it. When he died, I believe the public debt of Egypt did not exceed £5,000,000. What it now is, under the fatal facility of credit, and the new system of "financing" introduced into Egypt, and flourishing like a poisonous fungus for twelve years past, the world has been informed through the reports of the financial surgeons sent from Europe to probe and cure, if possible, the gaping wound.

In justice to the Khedive of whom, once the spoiled and petted favourite of Europe, few now have a good word to say, it must be stated that he treated Saïd's royal lady, and his only son, Toussoun Pacha (who died the other day), like a king and a kinsman; and still continues so to do to the surviving widow, who keeps up a state and commands a respect second to none in the reigning house, and is treated with equal consideration and courtesy by the Khedive himself. Toussoun he married to one of his daughters, and made Minister of Education. He was much respected and beloved, possessing his father's traits of temper without his force of character.

Of Saïd Pacha, in conclusion, it may be said that, as he was human, he sinned and suffered, both as a public and a private man. His faith was that of Islam; many of

his ways were not as our ways ; his civilization was blended with barbarism ; but he was a brave, true-hearted man, a staunch friend, a forgiving enemy, a just, humane, and judicious ruler over the country which Providence had confided to his care. *Requiescat in pace !*

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOREIGN COLONY IN EGYPT IN OLDEN TIME.

The foreign colony in Egypt, under the earlier viceroys—Classification of them—The merchant princes—The European army officers—Suleyman Pacha, or Colonel Séves, commander-in-chief—Some anecdotes of him—Other conforming and non-conforming officials—Some curious specimens—Talking only Arabic!—Peculiar privileges of foreign consuls-general and their *protégés*—The new mixed tribunals superseding consular authority—A few words about them, and the old doctrine of “Exterritoriality.”

I HAVE already stated that the foreign element in Egypt, composed of Europeans and of Greeks educated in Europe, played a conspicuous part in the early history of Egypt, and that then numbers were largely recruited during the reign of Saïd Pacha, in consequence of his encouragement to and patronage of them. I have also slightly sketched the first pioneers of this tide of Western civilization, the merchant princes, in the preceding chapter. Of these, who came in with Mehemet Ali, and gradually lost both their monopoly of the trade, as well as of the heavy commissions attendant on royal orders for machinery, cotton goods and other Western productions, in consequence of the competition of the later arrivals, it is unnecessary to say more.

Let us cast a hasty glance over the other classes composing this advanced guard of civilization, presenting as

they do many curious subjects of contemplation and observation. Among these there were not many who found it necessary to become renegades, or profess or practise the creed and habits of Islamism.

In the army was the Count Galeazzo Visconti, of Milan, a scion of the old Italian Viscontis, who held a captain's commission for years, but who never owned a uniform, put on a sword, or saw a review of troops, during his long stay in Egypt. Lord Palmerston's recommendation had obtained him his nominal rank and duty; and there were a legion of such. Polish, Hungarian, Italian, Austrian, and Venetian refugees came and settled down in swarms; some to useful pursuits, others to nominal ones, or sinecures under the Government. Among this latter class was one man of rare ability and acquirements, the Chevalier Geronimo Lattis, who, with Manin, had been one of the triumvirate of the short-lived Venetian republic. His scientific abilities found a useful field in Egypt, and he was much consulted in agricultural matters by Saïd Pacha. I believe he still lives, and resides in Egypt.

Another set of Christian *employés* was taken from the class of rayahs or native Christians, composed chiefly of Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, and Coptic subjects of the Porte. These, though little favoured by Abbas, were brought prominently forward by Saïd Pacha, who made Arakel Bey—the brother of the now famous Nubar Pacha, and like him an Armenian Christian—Governor of the Soudan; and Nubar himself his Minister of Foreign Affairs, though then quite a young man. The Copts, who seem to have a natural aptitude for figures and accounts, filled, as they still fill, the public offices; and

the introduction of the railway and steam engine involved the employment of English engineers.

So that the foreign colony waxed fat, and became a most important element in the development of the new Egypt of the successors of Mehemet Ali; as it continues to-day, when the control of the finances, of the railway, of the docks and harbours, in fact of everything but the army, as well as the great products of the soil, has passed into foreign hands. The Khedive has allowed himself to be treated as Gulliver was in the land of Lilliput—tied down by thousands of small threads, until he can neither move hand nor foot of his own volition.

Will he long continue to submit to this abdication of the highest functions of government, and entrust them to foreign hands? Time alone can tell.

An idea of the Babel of tongues prevailing in Egypt, where all nationalities, Western and Eastern, are represented, and where a man should be a polyglot to prosper in trade or profession, may be formed from the statement that the transactions of legal proceedings there involves a knowledge of French, Italian, Greek, and Arabic, all four of which, together with other languages incidentally, must enter into the pleadings.

Mehemet Ali, as an Albanian, was really more Greek than Turk, though professing and reared in the latter faith, in which he brought up his family also. But he was no fanatic—even more liberal in matters of faith than most Turks, who are models in the matter of toleration, unless their fanatical fervour is violently roused—and so men served him faithfully, he cared little for the creeds they professed. The same liberality of feeling has ever been evinced by his descendants, with the exception

of Abbas, who was supposed to be fanatical ; although he never gave much practical demonstration of it, except by sanctioning by his presence the annual ceremony of the Doseh, when the returning head of the pilgrimage from Mecca rides over the bodies of a pavement of living men—a kind of Egyptian “Car of Juggernaut” ceremonial, which Saïd discontinued, and the present Khedive discourages ; though I believe neither have been able to entirely suppress this cruel relic of barbarism.

In consequence of this toleration, but few of the foreigners who sought the Egyptian service conformed, and became Mussulmen in faith and in mode of life.

One notable exception to this was Suleyman Pacha, formerly Colonel Séves—a Frenchman who served on the staff of Napoleon in his Egyptian campaign, but remained after the French had left the country ; and being a skilled soldier, and a man of talent and energy, rose to the rank of pacha and commander-in-chief of the Egyptian forces ; dying at an advanced age, only a few years since, in that position. Suleyman Pacha did not do things by halves, but in all respects conformed rigidly to the tenets and practices of his new faith to the day of his death, diminishing his license in the way of wine, and increasing it in the way of wives ; living in every way in true Mussulman fashion, and keeping up the old hareem usages. I knew the old man, and met him on several occasions ; and a more thorough Turk outwardly, in appearance, manners, and habits I never saw. Yet, when excited or irritated, the nature of the Frenchman would break through the conventional mannerism of the Oriental, and the old soldier of the Empire appear in full force. I never heard him speak of his old souvenirs,

or make any reference to his past career. He avoided European society; and when forced into it by his official position, his reserve and reticence were truly Oriental. A stranger, watching the dignified old man in his Oriental costume, with his snowy beard, falling on his breast, on which glittered the Order of the Medjidie: his grave and composed manner, and thoroughly Eastern aspect, would have regarded him as the true type of the high Turk. But one who knew his history and marked the occasional twitching of the mouth under the heavy moustache, and the flash of the steel grey eye, sharp as a scimitar, could detect the French irritability and frivolity which were masked under the Turkish phlegm.

He did his duty, however, thoroughly and well, and enjoyed the confidence of several successive viceroys, different in all respects; dying in harness at last, a very old man, in the full odour of Egyptian Pacha-dom.

He was a good soldier and a stern martinet, and greatly improved the efficiency and discipline of the Egyptian army. The present head of the army is the Khedive's son Hassan, who is also Minister of War, promoted recently in place of Ratib Pacha, a Circassian, who made so bad a mess of the late Abyssinian campaign, through incompetence or "want of stomach for the fight," or probably from a combination of the two qualities. Suleyman Pacha evidently took a leaf out of his old commander's book; for the first Napoleon was *philosophe* under the Directory, His most Catholic Majesty as emperor, and a most excellent Mussulman at Cairo.

There were other foreigners in the service who, without going so far as Suleyman Pacha, in dress, appearance, and even in speech, commonly passed for Turks with

strangers. One most ludicrous exemplification of this I have frequently witnessed with great amusement, in the time of Saïd Pacha, when an Englishman, got up in thoroughly Oriental style, and speaking Arabic like a native, used to sit solemnly on his divan at the railway station, over which he presided, and gravely listen, *through his interpreter*, to the complaints made by British officers and travellers from India, *en route* for Alexandria to embark for Europe. "Ask that lazy old Turk to stop making a chimney of himself, and mind his business, or we will ask our consul-general to ask his master to kick him out of his place!" and other such flattering remarks would fall apparently unheeded on the ear of the functionary, who sat cross-legged smoking, while angry British officers used such and stronger language, through their dragomen, who in turn would translate into Arabic the supposed substance of the observation. But not even the movement of a muscle or the twinkle of an eye would betray the farce he was playing; for, had his interlocutors known he could understand their complaints, he would have been overwhelmed with them. Hence, he prudently kept his own counsel, and warned the dragomen not to betray him; and thus was enabled to smoke his pipe in comparative comfort, while the traveller fumed and fretted away his wrath, without venting it on the wearied ears of the unmoved official.

There were numerous other foreign *employés*, recruited from every land and language on which the Western sun has shone, and political refugees from all the countries of Europe, whom the year of revolutions (1848) had driven abroad, and who, under some foreign consular protection, sought refuge and bread in the remote land of Egypt.

The confusion of tongues, from the mixture of so many nationalities, still is made rubric on the walls of Alexandria and Cairo, where flaming posters are pasted up, either for advertising business or amusement, in at least three or four languages, French, Italian, English, and Arabic—these being the most universally current, and most generally understood.

Thirty years ago there were not more than 6000 foreigners in Egypt. At present, by the consular registers, there are near 80,000 recorded as residents in the country; and adding to these a number in the cities and villages who are not down on those registers, or resident only during the winter months, the business season in Egypt, the Khedive's own computation of 100,000 foreign residents, made to me, must rather be below than above the mark.* The population of Cairo is about half a million, of which probably 20,000 may be Europeans; that of Alexandria, about 250,000, of whom probably 50,000 are resident Europeans; though there are many Europeanized Greeks and natives, who cannot be strictly enrolled as foreigners, doing business there also; with a very large floating population annually visiting Egypt for business, health, or pleasure. The latter class spend much money in the country in various ways.

The new mixed tribunals present the most curious illustration of the confusion of tongues above referred to. They are as mixed in language as in law, and in the nationalities of the judges and clients, and require a

* In Appendix marked B will be found the tabular statement taken from the consular registers.

small army of interpreters to act as intermediaries between their component parts. The native judges, who understand no language but their own, and no law save that laid down in the Koran, of course must find the sessions rather tiresome: but preserve a most decorous judicial gravity under the mask of their habitual Oriental seriousness. The foreign judges, several of whom, on arrival, were innocent of knowledge of any but their native tongues, when plunged into this seething cauldron of the French civil law code, expounded by Italian, Greek, and English advocates in such French and Italian as they could master, and set to try cases in which Greek and Arabic witnesses and papers contained the evidence, must have felt, and must still feel, that "ignorance is *not* bliss" in their case.

So must it often be in these mixed tribunals.

The existence of these tribunals, now the overshadowing power in Egypt, superseding the consular authority which used to be omnipotent, as well as that of the Khedive, who was once the only High Court of Appeal in the country, but who now is (at least nominally) amenable to their jurisdiction, is due to Nubar Pacha. More than twenty years ago, in the reign of Saïd, he sought to persuade the consuls-general to divest themselves of their judicial powers, by consenting to the establishment of some such scheme. But neither the country nor the time was ripe for it; and year after year, with dogged patience and inexhaustible resource, under different administrations, he persevered until his efforts were crowned with success. But by a strange fatality he was "hoist by his own petard." His unforgiven sin with his monarch is, that in tying the hands of the

European diplomatic agents, and submitting all judicial decisions to what is practically an Egyptian tribunal, whose judges are paid out of the Egyptian treasury, he at the same time threw meshes around the Khedive, and imperilled if he did not destroy his sovereign prerogative. For the tribunal has affirmed its right to sit in judgment on the Egyptian Master of Legions, and decree against him, although declining to go through the form of insisting on enforcing judgments, for which it has not been put in possession of adequate means. Hence the anomalous and awkward position the two reciprocally occupy, *vis-à-vis* to each other. Under the old system—based on the doctrine of “Exterritoriality,” which gave authority over the foreigner exclusively to the representative of his own Government, under the ancient capitulations—the consular courts exercised the power of pronouncing judgment, in contest between their own subjects and those of other nationalities, including the natives. Through the powerful pressure of their own personal influence on the Egyptian ministers and the head of the State, they enforced justice for their people. That power and right foreign governments have abdicated (at least for a term of five years, two of which have expired), and it remains to be proven by experience whether the substitute is a good and sufficient one.

It has certainly succeeded in clearing off much rubbish, in the shape of old reclamations against the Government, sitting as a court of claims, for which the Khedive should be grateful. It has also given the “happy despatch” to the multitudinous bankrupts, by a speedy and simple system of relief, in place of the complicated ones previously existing in consular courts, no two of which agreed; and

for this the foreign colony, which has had very bad affairs ever since the close of the American war, which induced over-speculation and ruin, should be duly thankful. These two kinds of work, I believe, constitute thus far the bulk of business done, except the settlement of small claims.

The old system also of each foreign consulate attaching to it, as *protégés*, a number of native Christian rayahs, chiefly Copts, Greeks, and Syrians, and affording them countenance and protection, which used to add so much to the power, influence, and prestige of the representatives of the Great Powers, and afford so much protection to the native Christians (though sometimes abused), has been almost if not entirely done away with under the new *régime*, to the great regret and loss of the class who used to be thus protected. The alleged evils of the old system I believe to have been greatly exaggerated, though there were some notorious cases of abuse of the privilege: as there must ever be when discretionary power is confided to incompetent or venal hands, and consuls-general must be supposed to vary as much in character and capacity, as all other public functionaries.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KHEDEVE'S EGYPT.

Divisions of Modern Egypt: Lower Egypt, Middle Egypt, and Upper Egypt—The Soudan—Chief exports—Facts and figures—Population and mortality—Difficulties and drawbacks native rulers must contend against—Saïd Pacha's sad experience with his model villages—The new foreign *employés*—The Government more generous than just in some respects.

ACCORDING to Cæsar's "Commentaries," all Gaul "was divided into three parts." So is Egypt, viz., into *Lower Egypt*, or the Delta, containing 2,650,563 feddans (acres) of land under cultivation, ninety-two towns and cities, and 2253 villages or communes; *Middle Egypt*, containing 827,616 feddans of land, six towns and cities, and 114 villages; *Upper Egypt*, containing 1,146,041 feddans of land, fifteen towns and cities, and 658 villages; making a total of 4,624,220 feddans of land under cultivation, 113 towns and cities, and 3025 villages or townships.

Besides Egypt proper are the provinces of Massawa, Souakim, and Taka, on the coast of the Red Sea, and that vast province termed the Soudan.

It is claimed that in the last fifteen years not less than 500,000 acres have been reclaimed for cultivation from

the desert, being an average of over 70,000 acres per year added to the cultivated area of Egypt: and that 300,000 more are in process of preparation under the canal improvements instituted by the Khedive; for, in Egypt, the desert may be made "to blossom as the rose" by the application of water only. The Central African annexations, under Gordon and his subordinates, bid fair to double Egypt's area and population.

The chief exports of Egypt are cotton, sugar, and grain. *Cotton*, the culture of which was only introduced in 1820 by a Frenchman named Jumel, is now produced to the annual amount of about 600,000 bales, and furnishes Europe with one-eighth of its entire supply—four-fifths going to England. Sugar comes next; the largest portion of which is exported to France, the next to England. Then come the cereals, the greatest portion of which goes to England also, in the proportion of ten to one to any other country.

Egyptian statesmen remark, with just pride, that their country, more populous in proportion than any country in Europe, is yet able to supply the inhabitants by her products, leaving an immense surplus for exportation; and they also refer to the fact that her exports are double her imports—£14,000,000 in value to £7,000,000. Certainly a most satisfactory state of things, and indicative of prosperity. Much of this is due to the indefatigable efforts of the Khedive, who was a most successful and enterprising planter before he became Khedive, and whose expenditure in improving machinery and agricultural appliances has been on a scale as gigantic as his planting interest.

Not to pile up here too many statistics, which are very

dry reading, I shall add only a few figures which are curious and instructive, and then pass on to other topics. The number of domestic animals in Egypt (not including the mummied specimens in the bull, crocodile, and other pits, at Memphis and elsewhere), are estimated at about 300,000 horned cattle, 20,000 horses, 94,000 asses, 36,000 camels, and 2500 mules ; of sheep there are 175,000, goats 24,000.

During the year 1872 (the year of the rinderpest)* 14,000 head of cattle and 200,000 sheep were imported into Alexandria for food. The average price of cattle at the great annual fairs at Tantah and elsewhere is double that of horses, and the same as that of camels. The land-tax of Egypt annually rises to upwards of £4,500,000, that tax being about £1 per feddan (acre). The date palm is one of the great sources of the food of the country-folk, and about £200,000 per annum is derived from taxes upon its fruit. It is estimated that there are over 5,000,000 of date trees in Egypt of different varieties, producing about 20,000,000 cantars (cwt.) of fruit each season. The cactus is also cultivated on a large scale, and its pears eaten.

With regard to Egypt's new acquisitions in Central Africa, when the geographical position, fertile soil, and products of the Nile basin are considered, their value to Egypt and to European commerce may be understood ; but the exact amount of that value depends on the uses to which its fertile soil and teeming population may be put. Its first effect has been to divert to Egypt the

* The horse disease broke out again at Cairo and the upper country in the autumn of 1876-1877, supposed to have been imported from Abyssinia.

produce of the Nile basin through her great artery the Nile, reviving the trade of Cairo and Alexandria. When the railway communication is completed, penetrating far into the Soudan, that trade must be diverted from Zanzibar and the Red Sea ports to its natural outlets. With so vast an area of fertile soil, and such a teeming population, rich in flocks, herds, and grain, and the natural products of Africa, hitherto the spoil of native traders and slave-dealers (synonymous terms), the experiment can and will be tried on the largest scale.

Egypt proper (not including its recent acquisitions in Central Africa, which have doubled its area and population) was, in 1872, about as large as Belgium, while its population was greater than that of that country, so prosperous and comparatively populous; as well as of that of Sweden, Holland, Portugal, Denmark, and Norway—the density of the Egyptian population exceeding any of these.

The population of Cairo is near 500,000, that of Alexandria about 215,000; and, in despite of the popular idea as to the health of Egypt (as the tables of mortality of its great cities, carefully collected and published by the present Government, show), the mortality, except during the prevalence of epidemics—now becoming more rare and almost disappearing—will compare favourably with that of European cities. The vast improvements made and making in Cairo, in Haussmannizing the old town, must also increase its healthiness, though the climate is too enervating to suit European children. You see many people in the streets presenting the appearance of great age: but whether they are as old as they look I cannot say: for everything seems so preco-

cious in this country, where girls of ten and boys of fifteen are marriageable and married.

As to the mortality among the rural population (or fellahs) it is exceptionally small, proving that neither their condition nor their labour can be quite so bad or so heavy as sentimental travellers would persuade us: while their natural increase is very great, another proof of at least comparative physical well-being. Under the two last rulers the condition of the peasantry has been improved; they have been not only permitted, but encouraged to become landowners; and the subdivision of property has commenced, which must increase with each year. The stories of forced labour and forced recruiting, and cruelty to the fellahs by the Government *employés* (who, by the way, are not Turks, but men of their own race, often their own fellow-villagers), I am told by old residents, and myself believe, to be partly exaggerated: although I do not doubt that the system is radically bad, and that there is immense room for improvement, both in the condition and treatment of the fellahs; nor that acts of hardship and cruelty are frequently perpetrated by the ignorant and often brutal agents of the Khedive or his Government, on the persons and property of his subjects. Travellers' stories, however, must be taken with many grains of allowance, owing not only to their lack of knowledge as to the character and customs of this most peculiar people, but also to their ignorance of the language, and the darkened medium of the dragomen through which both reach them; the crass ignorance of most of these blind guides being only surpassed by their mendacity and desire to astonish or shock the "Howadji" under their charge.

No government or population ever yet was improved by angry vituperation, or by "clothing them in curses as with a garment;" and righteous indignation subjects itself to suspicion when it deals in vague generalities of accusation, and does not discriminate between cases that are universal, and those which are exceptional.

I am no apologist either for the shortcomings or the sins of Egyptian administration in the interior: nor for the treatment to which the fellah population has been—and is, I fear, still—subjected by an arbitrary, arrogant, and irresponsible set of taskmasters and tax-gatherers, armed with almost absolute authority. Even to the heads of State themselves I have not hesitated to point out, nor (I must do justice to them) have those rulers, in response, frequently failed to admit and deplore, while declaring their inability to remove, the grievous burdens borne by the fellahs in many ways, and the necessity of improving their mental, physical, and social condition. Both Saïd and Ismaïl grappled with this evil, and were met with the irresistible opposition of the terrible *vis inertie* of Oriental apathy and fatalism—that dumb stupidity, against which Schiller says "even the Gods are powerless"—as well as by the corruption and cruelty of subordinate officials.

Attempting to ameliorate the lot of the peasant, Saïd Pacha caused model villages to be constructed, with clean and comfortable dwellings, and, pulling down the fellah mud huts, transported the families to their new homes. Eighteen months after, I inquired how his model village was thriving.

"You will oblige me, the next time you pass on your way to Cairo, to stop and see!" was his reply.

I did so, and found that the model houses had been deserted, and were rapidly falling to ruin, while, like sugar-loaf ant-hills, on the outer circle were again grouped the mud huts, in all their primitive dirt and discomfort, with their fowls and filth and prowling dogs: into which the villagers, with their swarming families, had squatted down. Against ignorance and prejudices well-nigh invincible, the fight is a hard one; and when you reflect that similar ignorance and barbarism prevail throughout the whole country, and embrace all classes—except a very small circle in the cities and surrounding the Court—the difficulties of the administration may be comprehended, and allowances made for shortcomings.

The substitution of the foreign in place of the native official, as the means of improvement and better government in the interior, thus far has not proved a success: as the long roll of that “noble army of martyrs,” the African explorers, from Livingstone to Muzinger Pacha proves. The path of exploration and of civilization into Central Africa, like that across the desert, may be traced by the bones of the pioneers who have perished along the route.

In the great Government centres, however, of Alexandria and Cairo it has worked well, although the selection of these foreign officials has not always been made with great judgment, nor has the state of the Egyptian exchequer been consulted as to their salaries and emoluments. While men of such eminent administrative and executive capacity as McKillop Pacha, of the British navy (long in the Egyptian service, and of incalculable value to the Khedive in many ways), receive the most inadequate salaries, many of the recent importations, who

possess neither a tithe of his abilities nor experience of the country, receive four times the pay for not one-fourth of the work which he does so thoroughly and indefatigably. I have never heard him utter a syllable of complaint—he is too proud a man for that—but the facts have fallen within my own knowledge, and I cite his case simply as an illustration of a general truth; applicable also to many of the ablest and oldest of foreign officials in Egypt: but without meaning to cast any reflection on the new-comers, several of whom are undoubtedly most efficient and useful public officers.

It is certainly but just that the salaries of officials, transplanted there from England or France, should be greatly increased, perhaps doubled, in view of the probable increase of expense in living (enormously high in Egypt), as well as of the interruption of their former business relations. But it really does not seem just, either to the old officials and *employés*, or to the “gentleman in difficulties” to whose relief they are called, that many of the higher officials should receive the salary of British ministers of State! and that clerks should be paid in pounds what they got in crowns in England—from whence almost all these new *employés* are drawn, with only enough of Frenchmen to serve as a seasoning.

If charity begins at home, so should economy; and however great the savings effected by the new administrators may be—and in some instances, as in the post-office and the customs administrations, they have been considerable—they will profit the Khedive or his creditors but little, if they are swallowed up in the expenses of the machinery employed in their production.

Sitting at Shepherd's *table d'hôte* one day, I saw six

of these new *employés* side by side, whose collective salaries amounted to more than £20,000 per annum, and but four out of the six held high positions: the other two being merely clerks in departments. Many of these gentlemen, doubtless very capable at home, verify the truth of Lord Bacon's axiom, that "he that goeth abroad without understanding the language goeth to school, and not to travel." For how people, to whom the whole records and papers relating to new transactions, are literally "sealed books," being in Arabic, can possibly either comprehend, audit, or check accounts, I confess puzzles me; for the interpreter—again to cite Lord Bacon—"having his hand full, truth may choose but to open his little finger." This fact accounts for much of the confusion in Egyptian accounts.

These comments are made in no invidious or hostile spirit towards the new *employés*, most of whom I do not know, and several who are known personally to me inspiring me with most friendly feelings. But the truth should be told; and when outcries against the Khedive's expensive administration of public affairs are so loudly made, it is but just that some of the leaks should be shown to proceed from other causes than his own personal extravagancies. The ordinary Egyptian official, whether foreign or native, has hitherto been so insufficiently and irregularly paid, that this contrast seems all the more striking; and hence I have placed my finger as gently as I could upon this very tender spot.

Several of the gentlemen personally interested, with a candour that did them honour, frankly admitted to me the justice of the complaint in this regard made by the old *employés*; but naturally were not quixotic enough to

propose a reduction in the emoluments, with which they had been so liberally endowed by the Egyptian Government, out of its almost empty chests.

One of the greatest difficulties in the transaction of bureau or official business of any kind is the immense number of holidays claimed, and granted to *employés* in all the Government bureaux, which exasperate and annoy all foreign officials, and retard the progress of business : but which, owing to the number of fasts and feasts in the Mohammedan calendar, it seems impossible to diminish.

Against any active opposition the Khedive's fiat is omnipotent ; but against old customs, prejudices, and habits, stronger than any written law and more religiously followed, even his energy and efforts strike as vainly as a cannon ball directed against a floating silk banner, whose non-resistance is the secret of its remaining unimpressed by the force directed against it.

Time, education, and improvement may finally counteract the causes enumerated ; but it will require the united efforts of the three to make Egypt like unto Europe.

Let us then give both the Khedive, and his new assistants from abroad, the benefit of good intentions and well-directed efforts ; even though the progress actually made, in the way of practical and perceptible reform in the different administrations, does not seem very perceptible as yet, and though the performance falls very far short of the swelling programme : put forth in the hope of regaining the lost confidence of Europe, both as to the Khedive's promises of reform, and his promise to pay. The first steps in the right direction have been taken, and, with patience, the goal may be reached at last.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KHEDIVE ISMAÏL AS A PUBLIC AND A PRIVATE MAN.

His lucky star—The accident that made him Khedive—Achmet Pacha's closing scene—His character—A fatal *fête* and lucky illness—Halim Pacha's peril and escape—What might have been but for an open drawbridge—My early impressions of Prince Ismaïl—His love for "Naboth's vineyard"—The man and the monarch, briefly epitomized—Things he has done and things he has left undone—His building mania.

THE Egyptians, like all other Orientals, are very superstitious, believing strongly in luck—that there are people born lucky and unlucky; apart from their kismet or destiny, which they think binds every mortal man in its iron chain from birth to death, beyond his power of will or of resistance. Thus the last king of the Moors in Spain, Boabdil, during whose reign they were expelled from that fair and beloved land, was commonly called *El Zogoybi*, "the Unlucky," and verified the appellation.

So, until his late troubles and failures, Ismaïl Pacha was regarded by his subjects as the most lucky of human beings: and the earlier stages of his career seemed to justify the common belief. Even his occupation of the throne was due to an accident, fatal to another, but fortunate for him. Between him and the succession, after the death of Saïd should have made a vacancy, there was

another life—that of his brother Achmet, a man but little older than himself, of powerful constitution and regular habits. Achmet was the eldest son of Ibrahim Pacha, and the succession was his of right, under the rule that then existed, but has since been changed to the direct line from father to son.

Early in the year 1858, Saïd Pacha, then viceroy, gave a great *fête* at Alexandria, to which he sent invitations for all the members of his family, including the sons of Ibrahim and others residing at Cairo. Such an invitation was equal to a command; so all accepted and came, except Ismail, who making illness his excuse, did not accompany them. They attended the *fête*; and the princely party, at the head of which were Achmet and Halim, a younger and favourite brother of Saïd, were assigned a special train to convey them back to Cairo, when the festivities were over. Their retinue was composed of twenty or thirty friends and attendants. Midway between the two cities the line of rail passes over the Nile, at Kaffir Azzayat, where there is a famous bridge, built by Robert Stephenson, with a drawbridge that opens and shuts to permit the passage of steamers or other craft. As the train bearing its royal freight came thundering down the slope that leads on to this bridge, the English engineer who drove it saw to his horror that the drawbridge was open, leaving a yawning space over the deep and raging flood, full fifty feet below—but saw the danger too late to avoid it.

The carriages, with the princes and their train, were precipitated into the river, Prince Halim alone escaping through his superior activity and presence of mind; for while the carriages hung suspended for an instant over

the flood, he forced the door open, called to his nephew Achmet and the others to imitate him, and plunged headlong into the river, as the sole chance of escape from a dreadful death. Skilled in all athletic sports and manly exercises, Halim thus saved his life, swimming ashore as soon as he rose to the surface; but Achmet, an awkward, heavy man, did not follow his lead, but was drowned with his companions, leaving the succession clear for his brother Ismail, who doubtless recognized "his star" in the whole affair, as well as in his preservation from a similar fate to that of his elder brother. There were not wanting slanderous tongues at the time to hint at the viceroy's complicity in this dreadful casualty; and he himself bitterly complained to me that he doubted not such would be the case, at the same time exclaiming, in the spirit and almost in the words of Scripture, "Is thy servant a dog to have done this thing?" and adding that his hope was that the presence of his favourite brother there might screen him from so unworthy a suspicion. From my knowledge of his character, as well as from inquiries made on the spot subsequently, I am convinced that he was innocent of all complicity in the transaction; which was the result of carelessness—some might say fatality. It is curious to contemplate the very different state of things that might be existing in Egypt to-day, had the succession not been changed by this casualty, and Achmet succeeded instead of Ismail. For Achmet was by nature and habit one of the most prudent and conservative of human beings—the exact reverse of a prodigal; in fact, accused of avarice and inordinate love of money; addicted not to spending but to hoarding, and in character and temper exactly the reverse of his brother, known to us as

the Khedive, who however rapidly he has contrived to fill his hands, has managed ever to empty them quicker still. So far did Prince Achmet carry his economies, that he often received his foreign friends, who called at his palace in the evening after dark, by the light of no chandelier or lustres attached to the walls, but in a chamber illuminated by the ordinary "*fanous*," or glass lantern with two candles, borne by respectable citizens in traversing the streets by night, before patrols were instituted at Cairo. He would have economized the public funds, as he did his private fortune, which was very large; but Egypt would have stood still, not advanced, under his reign.

Yet, in justice to him, it should be added that he also possessed some truly princely traits to neutralize this weakness. He was a man of honour and of courage, most truthful and reliable in all he said and did, devoted to agriculture, and incapable of cruelty or dishonesty. But he was better fitted for a private station than a throne: and had he lived and reigned, most probably the Suez Canal, and the other great public works which will hereafter record the enterprise of the Khedive Ismail, long after his loans and the Egyptian debt have been forgotten, would never have been Egypt's dowry in her bridal with Europe.

Heir presumptive through this casualty, Ismail now bided his time, devoting himself to agricultural pursuits, shunning publicity through fear of inspiring Saïd's jealousy, and acquiring real estate—one of his passions—until he became perhaps the largest landed proprietor in Egypt. In addition to his own large hereditary properties, he has absorbed those of his brothers and cousins; and several of the loans which now figure in Mr. Cave's

report, were contracted for such purchases before or since his accession to the throne.

During that period I used to visit the prince at his palace at Cairo, and found him a most polished and courteous gentleman, fond of conversing on his European experiences of travel, in French, which he spoke with perfect ease and fluency, and producing the impression that he was an amiable but not very able man. He certainly played Brutus well while his Cæsar lived; for even his intimates had no conception of the hidden energy and grasping ambition which that smooth manner and guarded speech concealed. Saïd himself certainly had not formed a fair or a just estimate of his probable successor, whom he could not conciliate, but who kept aloof from the Court which that merry monarch assembled around him after the accident which opened the way for him, and which probably he regarded as a premeditated trap set for himself and kinsmen—a suspicion which his knowledge of Saïd's character should have dispelled.

So anxious was Ismail to learn, and the courtiers to communicate, the tidings of the last breath drawn by the dying man whose waning shadow still filled the almost vacant throne, that a high official, the head of the telegraph line (an Englishman), sat all night by the side of the telegraph operator, to send the news by lightning to the coming ruler, the moment life had left the body of the old one.

But Saïd, with his powerful organization, died slowly, and taxed the patience of the watchers. So the high official, tired out at last after several sleepless nights, summoned a trusted native clerk in the office, whom he believed to be faithful and devoted to him personally, and charged him to come immediately to his house and awaken

him, should the news come during his absence, promising him a handsome backsheesh for his services. He then went home to snatch a little sleep. But the astute clerk, knowing as well as his master the custom of the country, which conferred rank and gold to the first bearer of such tidings to a new viceroy, when the news did come, during his employer's slumbers, hastened to take it himself to Ismail, and received at once the anticipated promotion and reward. Then, with the malicious cunning and avarice of his class, further to outwit the confiding Frank, he hurried away to awaken him and impart the news, without saying a word as to the use he had already made of it. Full of hope and joy, the official hastened to the palace of Ismail with the glad tidings; but, to his infinite astonishment and disgust, was contemptuously dismissed without reward as the bearer of stale tidings, and left to reflect on the perfidy of native clerks, and the necessity of keeping very wide-awake in Egypt. The perfidious clerk is now a pacha; his betrayed employer yet a bey.

The accession of Ismail Pacha took place early in January, 1863, and the educational progress during that period has been truly remarkable, and would be so considered in any country of the globe. At the time of Mehemet Ali there were but 6000 children receiving public instruction. During the first six years of the reign of the Khedive the number had increased to 60,000, a portion of the credit for which is due to Saïd Pacha, his predecessor. In 1873 the figure attained was almost 90,000, and at this time it doubtless exceeds 100,000.

One of the greatest difficulties in educating this people has arisen from the peculiar social and domestic system prevailing in the country, which renders access to the

female children (except those of the very poor, or fellahs) almost impossible. Thus, of the 90,000 pupils in the primary schools, but 3000 are girls—chiefly, if not entirely, the children of Christian parents, foreign and native. But the indefatigable Khedive has grappled with the difficulty. He has instituted at Cairo, on a liberal scale (in the name of one of his wives), the first school for women ever known in the Ottoman Empire: and various others also have since been established elsewhere in Egypt for female education. He has gone deeper, and established schools for the female children of the fellahs, or agricultural labourers, in the hope of elevating the social, moral, and intellectual condition of this large class of the labouring population, whose past and present lot has been far less pleasant and comfortable than that of the former Southern slave in the United States. Should these comprehensive educational plans of the Khedive be carried out successfully, the next generation of Egyptians, male and female, will be an immense improvement on their predecessors, and be able to contrast favourably with the labouring classes of any country. But, even under the most favourable auspices, it will require a generation to effect this result, even in part; for the Khedive has to build up the mass of his people from a very low level indeed: as all who know aught of the life and labours of the actual Egyptian fellah must acknowledge. Whether also education alone will suffice to correct imperfect moral and social home-training, and the absence, not only of the comforts, but even of the necessities and decencies of life, on the part of children born and living in such environments as those which surround the Egyptian fellah from infancy and accompany him through life, constitutes another

problem, to be solved only by actual experience. The idea and the effort, however, are both noble; and, whatever the result may be, posterity must do justice to the initiative of the absolute ruler capable of conceiving and striving to execute so comprehensive a plan.

In the year 1862, under Saïd Pacha's administration, the Government appropriation for public instruction amounted to less than £6000. In 1872 the Khedive's Government appropriated £80,000 for the same object; added to which, several private subventions, derived from the Khedive and his sons, were given to private, foreign, and native schools.

It is estimated that the number of native boys old enough to attend school is about 350,000, and that the proportion actually receiving instruction is about twenty-three per cent.; while in Turkey it is about ten per cent., and in Russia but three; and even in Italy it is but thirty-one. The comparative civilization in Turkey and Egypt, tried by this test, may be judged of from these figures, and the distance between them must widen with each successive year. Besides the schools already mentioned, the Khedive has established special ones for his army, now about 30,000 men, and every soldier now is educated, and well educated too—privates as well as officers. The American officers declare that the aptitude of the Arab in acquiring knowledge, especially in mathematical and military science, is exceptional. It must be an hereditary transmission, since we owe our algebra to Arabia in the first instance. Unlike the negro race, the Arab seems susceptible of the highest culture; and opportunity has developed remarkable ability in many Egyptians during the present reign.

The Khedive is entitled to the denomination of merchant prince more than any one who ever bore that title, combining the two characters profitably for a long time; but attempting to add to it also that of a financier, he wrecked himself, and has come very near wrecking the country too. At once the great producer and exporter from Egypt of its most valuable agricultural products, with a virtual monopoly in the transit, by forestalling the market and fixing prices, he was able to regulate production, price, and transportation, and reduce a monopoly into a mathematical certainty, without the possibility of rivalry. He enjoyed also the privilege of commanding labour at his own or no price, by *corvée* — practised habitually in Egypt, and but recently restrained with fixed limits, but existing still for all public works, and the Khedive's private property, too, unless he is greatly slandered, and common report prove a common liar. But this is a subject that will be more fully entered into in connection with the land tenure, and the actual condition of the fellah. For the present let us consider the personal characteristics of the man who, almost idolised in Europe but three years ago, is now proving the fickleness of public opinion in his own person, by seeing the reverse of the medal.

Ismail Khedive is a man of about forty-eight years of age, under the middle height, but heavily and squarely built, with broad shoulders, which during the last year seem to have become bowed down by the heavy burdens imposed upon him, under which he has so manfully struggled. His face is round, covered by a dark brown beard closely clipped, and short moustache of the same colour shading a firm but sensual mouth. His complexion is

dark; his features regular, heavy rather than mobile in expression. His eyes, which he keeps habitually half closed, in Turkish fashion, sometimes closing one entirely, are dark and usually dull, but very penetrating and bright at times, when he shoots a sudden sharp glance, like a flash, at his interlocutor. His face is usually as expressionless as that of the Sphinx, or the late Napoleon III., of whom, in my intercourse with the Khedive, I have been frequently reminded; for they are men of much the same stamp in character and intellect, with the same strong and the same weak characteristics doing constant battle with each other. The Khedive's voice is very characteristic—low, somewhat thick yet emphatic, well-modulated, giving meaning to the most commonplace utterances; his words accompanied by a smile of much attractiveness when he seeks to please, and his mind is at ease. But under the mask of apparent apathy or serenity, the close observer will remark, that the lines across the broad brow and about the strong mouth indicate strong passions as strongly suppressed, and the cares of empire intruding ever on lighter thoughts: and judge the Khedive to be far from a happy man.

Of his personal amiability of temper his attendants and old *employés* speak highly—another Napoleonic trait; and this natural humanity is indicated by the cessation of severe punishments, such as banishment, confiscation, and capital punishment, during his reign,—with one remarkable exception, which has produced abroad the opposite impression, and made one blot on what would otherwise have been a stainless record. During his visit abroad, in the year of the Great Exposition at Paris, Ismail was quite a lion, and excited the jealousy of his suzerain, the

Sultan, by the warmth of his reception, *in partibus infidelium*, both by the members of the European cabinets and crowned heads.

His introduction of Western civilization into Egypt; his Europeanizing Cairo, the stronghold of the vanishing Oriental type of city; his great public works; his greater educational plans; his filling his administrations with Europeans, and placing them at the head of all the principal bureaux; his remodelling his army under the auspices of skilled and trained army officers, invited from his *Ultima Thule*, America; the broad religious toleration which has made Christian churches more numerous than Moslem ones, in proportion to the relative populations of the two sects, including the Eastern Christians under his rule, to whom also he has given the right and imposed the duty of bearing arms in defence of the State (enrolling them in the army in defiance of their universal exclusion elsewhere throughout the Ottoman dominions)—all these things are notorious, and constitute his claim to the admiration of Christendom as a wise reformer, a light newly arisen in the East.

But the financial embarrassments of Egypt have come up like a cloud to eclipse these glories, and he is now denounced in more unmeasured terms than he was lauded before, and even his good deeds and good works doubted and denied. My task is neither "to bury Cæsar" nor "to praise him." I propose simply to depict the man and the monarch as I have seen and known him, and to do justice at the same time to the ruler, and to his people, not sparing the recital of his sins of omission and commission, while giving a catalogue of the benefits he has conferred on his country and his people, heavy as may be the

price which both he and they may have to pay for them. This Eastern prince is by no means "that faultless monster the world ne'er saw," but a mere man like the rest of us, and as such made up out of a mingled yarn of virtues and vices. That he possesses that sin by which fell the angels—ambition—to which a moralist might add vain-glory and rapacity, cannot be denied; that, in his zeal for rapidly reforming his cities and his people on the European model, he has gone too far and too fast for his own comfort and that of his subjects; that in annexing, and seeking to annex, Equatorial Africa to Egypt he has embarked on a dubious enterprise; that, in looking solely at the ends in view, he has often forgotten the means; and in the treatment of the fellahs left much to be desired; and, finally, that his expenditure has been greater than his means;—all these charges cannot be disputed.

As the father of a family, with four wives and, I believe, twelve children, he has left nothing to be desired which the most steady *bourgeois* could demand; being a model head of the family, on the Oriental plan of course! Both his sons and daughters have been well educated by European instructors, and speak and write French, and perhaps other foreign languages, with ease and fluency. Both for sons and daughters he has insisted on the one-wife principle: his sons and sons-in-law being each but "the husband of one wife," according to the Scriptural recommendation. This is certainly a step in the right direction. But the young princes only appear in public, or at the Khedivial entertainments; the daughters still live on the hareem plan, for which their education has unfitted them.

The Khedive is an immense worker, and as it is one of

the taxes on absolute power that its head must know and supervise everything, even to the minutest details, is compelled to get up early and sit up late at the labour he loves, of directing the whole State machinery; and these labours and cares are beginning to tell upon his health, as his personal appearance last winter attested, as well as his own admissions. Yet the rest and vacation which private men may freely take, are impossible to crowned heads, especially in such critical circumstances as those which environ the Khedive. The labours which used to constitute his pleasure have become an imperious necessity now. When he goes abroad, but little of the pomp and circumstance of royalty surround the handsome but simple equipage which conveys the absolute master of five and a half millions of Egyptians and five millions more of Central Africans, through the streets of his capital. Clad in the Stamboulin dress, only his fez cap indicates the Oriental; and half a dozen mounted guards, in his livery of chocolate, precede and follow the carriage, in which he rapidly passes by, making salutations as he passes on, by a slight gesture of the hand to the Europeans, who raise their hats to him—the natives generally not courting his recognition, according to Eastern etiquette.

He lives in a fashion partly European, partly Eastern—European as to *cuisine* and mode of taking his meals, the latter of which he does in company with the chief members of his household, his chamberlains, private secretaries, physicians, and others immediately attached to his person, with invited guests very frequently. His *déjeuners à la fourchette* at mid-day, and dinners at 7 P.M., are in every respect worthy the admiration of the most experienced

gastronome, both as to the dishes and the service, the wines included.

Any subject, however humble, may present his petition or grievance in writing to "Effendina," as they style the Khedive.

The winter receptions are usually given at the Khedive's favourite palace of Abdin, distant only two or three hundred yards from the large hotels on the Ezbekieh, on the outskirts of the city. There is a large open space before the palace, somewhat similar to the French *Champ de Mars*, where the troops are constantly drilling and exercising, their white tents pitched at the other extremity of the square; and as you drive up to the long low range of buildings which compose the palace, you are apt to witness military manoeuvres going on; and finer looking and better disciplined troops, of a light bronze colour, would be hard to find anywhere.

The three chief passions of Ismaïl Khedive are his passion for real estate, his vaulting ambition which sometimes overleaps itself, and his mania for building, the latter of which he frankly admitted to me in conversation a year ago. "Every man," said the Khedive reflectively, speaking in French, as he always does, "is mad on some one subject. My mania is for building"—to use his own words, "*J'ai une manie en pierre.*" It will be well for him and for his people should he discover, ere it be too late, his two other manias, and set to work to curb and to correct them.

CHAPTER X.

FOUR NATIVE MINISTERS AND HEKKEKYAN BEY.

Some of the Khedive's native ministers—Nubar Pacha—His life and work—Personal traits—A family of diplomatists—Cherif Pacha—Description of him—Riaz Pacha—The strange story of Ismaïl Sadyk Pacha, the Mouffetich—An Egyptian Wolsey—A visit to his three palaces, and what we saw there—The moral of his rise and fall—Hekkekyan Bey—His theory of the Pyramids.

IN his reforms the Khedive has been greatly aided by his native ministers, most of whom are men imbued with European culture, or educated abroad, speaking fluently several languages—that of diplomacy, or intercourse with foreign agents, being the French.

The most active and distinguished of these ministers have been Nubar, Cherif, Riaz, and Ismaïl Sadyk Pachas, respectively Ministers of Commerce, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Finance. The War Minister has also been taken from his own people, though that department has in fact been controlled by the American staff officers, about twenty of whom, on the Khedive's invitation, entered the Egyptian service about six or seven years ago.

As the jealousy of the Porte has forbidden the Khedive to have a navy, his fleet consists only of commercial vessels, with a couple of armed steamers to protect the commerce of the Red Sea, and suppress the slavers.

Nubar Pacha, though a man of only middle age, has been well and favourably known in Europe as an able statesman for twenty years past, entering the public service, in which he immediately took high rank, at a very early age.

Educated to diplomacy by his famous kinsman, Boghos Bey, himself one of the ablest counsellors of Mehemet Ali, his life has been spent in this pursuit. Speaking and writing almost all the languages of Europe with equal facility, and conversant with European affairs and their directors, he has steered Egypt free from the breakers that surrounded her, under two successive reigns: until falling about a year since under the cold shade of royal displeasure, he has since been virtually outside of public life, and travelling abroad as a private person.

Nubar Pacha's personal appearance is at once striking and prepossessing. Of medium height, with swarthy complexion, dark eyes and hair, regular features, and a most winning smile; gifted with rare conversational powers, and courteous, almost caressing in manner and speech, there is a persuasive charm in his manner with which few men are endowed.

His firmness, however, is one of his chief characteristics, and his frankness almost amounts to rudeness at times; and it is most probably this latter quality that has lost him favour at Court, where words displeasing to the royal ear are most unwonted and unwelcome sounds.

Nubar is an Armenian Christian, and that three vice-roys should have retained a man professing and practising that creed for a series of years, speaks volumes both for their liberality and his own capacity; for he is the worst courtier I ever saw, and always has been; his pride, which

is great, ever keeping him erect in mind and body before his exacting and haughty princes, who consider their wish as well as will should be law: and that it is a kind of *lèse majesté* for a subject to differ from either, even in thought. His family have not only served but suffered for the State, in the person of his brother Arakel Bey—one of the most promising of the rising statesmen of Egypt—who in the time of Saïd Pacha was made Governor of the Soudan, and fell a victim to the climate in his early prime; and the son and namesake of that brother, the Arakel Bey who, as Governor of Massowa, but the other day accompanied Arendrup in the fatal expedition into Abyssinia, and perished gallantly fighting by the side of that ill-starred commander, to avenge whose death the second Egyptian expedition was despatched, which has but recently returned. Seldom has a single family, alien in race and creed to the ruling race, contrived to fill for three generations the highest places in the State, especially under the arbitrary monarchs of the East; yet to this rare distinction the family of Nubar has attained by sheer force of character and talent, without ever stooping to unworthy concessions, either religious or personal. The free institutions of England can boast of but one Disraeli at the helm of State, while absolute Egypt can point to Boghos Bey, to Nubar, and his brother and nephew, as illustrations of an enlightened liberality of sentiment, not usually credited to the Turk.

Perhaps, however, the great and crowning work of Nubar's career, which finally caused his exclusion from public affairs, was the establishment of the mixed tribunals: which at the same time placed a check on the absolute power of the Khedive, and crippled the influence

and authority of the agents of foreign governments in Egypt, by depriving them of their former prerogatives under the old capitulations. At this work Nubar toiled with undiminished labour and patience more than twenty years, modifying his plan from time to time, but ever steadily pursuing the main purpose: and contending against the double current setting in against him, from the throne on one side, and the consuls on the other. Whatever success these tribunals may obtain, much of the honour will be due to their originator and fostering parent. Whatever defects or shortcomings may be visible in the practical working of this invention, Nubar cannot be justly made responsible for them, since his hand has been taken from the plough, at the very moment when most needed there, by the caprice of the Khedive; and he can neither supervise his invention, or give his invaluable counsel to those who are trying their "prentice han's" upon it.

His relief from the cares of State has however reinstated health, that the unremitting labours of many years had begun to impair: for, meeting him recently at Paris, I was struck with the improvement in his face and bearing which his year's vacation had wrought. The name of Nubar Pacha was prominently brought forward at the time of the Conference, in connection with the appointment of a Christian governor for Bulgaria: but all of his affections and aspirations turned to Egypt, the land of his birth, in which his race—almost as much a standing marvel as the Jewish people in their dispersion and continued separate existence—has found a resting-place; and where he is a large landed proprietor and cultivator.

Cherif Pacha, the contemporary and rival of Nubar—

the two having gone up and down, like two buckets in a well, in the Foreign Office for a series of years—has also spent his life in public service, in which he has grown prematurely grey.

While Nubar in character and manner resembles an Englishman, Cherif is thoroughly French in looks and address; probably understanding but not speaking English. He is a Mussulman by birth and faith, and conforms, though not rigorously, to Eastern forms of life and faith. His French affinities were strengthened by his marriage with a daughter of Suleyman Pacha (the French Colonel Séves), who for many years was commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. In appearance, as in mind and character, Cherif is the direct opposite of Nubar—fair, florid, with light hair and eyes, the former of which is turning grey. His manner and address are frank and cordial, more those of a soldier than of a diplomat. He is a man to whom deception would be impossible; his easy careless manner and open face would betray him, if he ever attempted it, which he does not. He is clever and quick-witted, and a most agreeable companion socially: entertaining much and liberally. His strongest passion is for the chase; and like Nimrod he is “a mighty hunter before the Lord.” His personal qualities make him universally popular. I do not believe he has any enemies, for I never heard any one speak ill of him, while the sterner character of Nubar repels as many as it attracts.

Cherif Pacha seems to have become an indispensable man in the Egyptian administration, sometimes filling one post, sometimes another: but chiefly the ministry of foreign affairs or of commerce, alternating with Nubar.

This fixity of tenure on the part of these two statesmen

under so arbitrary a government as that of Egypt, contrasts curiously with the perpetual change of men, as well as measures, under freer and more constitutional régimes. The Eastern Disraeli and Gladstone have only replaced each other in particular bureaux, from time to time, but both have continued consecutively in public service in some other department; and have not been allowed the leisure requisite for the weaving of romances, or cutting down of trees, in their interregnums: as Western statesmen have been permitted, both by people and monarch.

Riaz Pacha is a younger man, one of the new generation. He is an *élève* of Nubar, who carefully trained him to the work, and enjoys a reputation for integrity and capacity. He has filled, and still fills, important posts, in all of which he has given satisfaction, and may be considered a rising man.

But the most curious and disastrous career, for the Khedive, the country, and finally for himself, was that of Ismaïl Sadyk Pacha (the Mouffetich), late Minister of Finance—a bright but baleful meteor shooting across the Egyptian sky, to be quenched in sudden darkness, and leaving gloom and terror behind.

Yet history sheds so much light on Egyptian peculiarities, and on the strange blending of elements there, that I shall devote some space to a narration of the life and death, rise and fall of this Eastern Wolsey, who ruled not only the country, but seemingly his master also with a rod of iron for ten years, through some strange influence which no man in or out of Egypt can comprehend.

Ismaïl Sadyk was what Mr. Pitt was said to be, “a heaven-born financier;” for he was born and bred an Egyptian fellah, without training or culture, and to the

day of his death spoke or understood no language but his own. He was a dark-coloured Arab, slight and stooping in frame, with sharp features, a face devoid of expression, and a shiftily cunning eye. His manner was alternately fawning or brutal, as he spoke to an equal or an inferior; and at first sight he inspired an instinctive repugnance, which he was plausible enough to remove when it suited his interest, although conferring always with Europeans through his interpreter (an old Frenchman), it was difficult to judge of his conversational powers. It may have been owing to this fact that he produced upon me, in several interviews I had with him, the impression of a crafty but ill-informed and short-sighted man, unable to rise to the height of a great argument, or even comprehend anything but an appeal to the most selfish motives and interests, taking a narrow and contracted view of everything not bounded by his own immediate horizon. That he should, however, have obtained and held so long a powerful and controlling influence over the mind of the Khedive (whose intellectual ability no one doubts or denies), affords proof positive that Ismail Sadyk was no common man, although "his thoughts were low—to vice industrious, but to nobler deeds timorous and slothful." But he has proved the evil genius, the very Mephistopheles of his master, who finally turned upon and destroyed him, in mingled wrath, agony, and fear, offering him up as a scapegoat for the sins which he possibly may have devised, but in which he had many and very high accomplices, thus far escaping with impunity.

He commenced his career as a common fellah, but proving himself faithful over small things was rapidly

promoted to the care of larger ones—the Khedive himself, as prince, employing him as the manager of one of his smaller estates. From thence, after the accession of his patron to the throne, he rose gradually to the post of Mouffetich, or Finance Minister: and under his evil auspices was commenced that system of loans and shifty expedients to raise money at any price from foreign or native money-lenders, which has plunged the Khedive and the country into that worse than Serbonian bog, from which both are now so desperately struggling for extrication. He was reputed, from his early training and experience, to understand better than any man in Egypt, how “to squeeze the fellah!” which meant to wring the last para out of the poor wretches by the threat or use of the terrible *kourbash*, or hippopotamus-hide whip, in the hands of agents as unscrupulous and merciless as himself—until a cry went up to earth and heaven against his oppressions, perpetrated in the name, if not by the authority, of his master, who has ever borne the character of a humane man, constitutionally averse to cruelty. It is but an act of simple justice to the Khedive here to say, that my own personal knowledge of his character from his earlier days had confirmed the popular estimate, and that it is difficult for me to believe that he sanctioned all the exactions and cruelties perpetrated in his name, through the agency of the bold bad man who had won his confidence and acted for several years the Wolsey to his master—to meet a heavier retribution than his unknown exemplar in the end.

The sole apology that can be set up for this wretched creature, whose fate has inspired an ill-deserved pity for him, is that his sudden and giddy elevation had driven

him mad ; and that he was but partially responsible for his acts ; and the reckless way in which he rushed upon his fate, which his own sane judgment should have foreseen knowing the country as he did, would seem to sustain this hypothesis. For the sake of human nature let us give him the benefit of this doubt as to his sanity ; though his nature was ever what Carlyle terms the "vulpine"—one full of crafty suspicion, and tortuous ways to tortuous ends.

In the very height of his power, profligacy, and wealth, he was stricken down as though by a thunderbolt from heaven.

Seeing in the adoption of the financial schemes proposed by Messrs. Cave, Goschen, and Joubert, the end of his power and his illicit gains, he fought desperately against them, and rendered his own removal necessary to the Khedive, through the revelations he made, and threatened to make : whether true or false equally embarrassing and damaging to his master's credit.

But he mistook his man, and miscalculated his influence. Going a step too far on the path of resistance and intimidation, he toppled over into an abyss, from which, living or dead, he never emerged ; for where his bones are no man knows to-day.

In the telegrams of the London journals there appeared one morning, what seemed to many a mere sensational statement—that the Khedive had personally taken the Mouffetich to drive, placed him securely in custody, and was to have him tried for high treason immediately. Those who did not know Egypt discredited the statement *in toto* ; those who knew it immediately believed the statement (whose dramatic features made it more probable)

and foresaw the end ; although not the sudden and tragic *dénouement* of what, commencing in comedy, ended swiftly in sternest tragedy.

The next day, 15th November, 1876, the Egyptian public, which had been feasting on a thousand rumours of the most wild and improbable character concerning this event, read in the *Moniteur Egyptien*, the Government official journal, the following authorized communication in French :—

“The ex-Minister of Finance, Ismaïl Sadyk Pacha, has sought to organize a plot against his Highness the Khedive, by exciting the religious sentiments of the native population against the scheme proposed by Messrs. Goschen and Joubert. He has also accused the Khedive of selling Egypt to the Christians, and taken the attitude of defender of the religion of the country. These facts, revealed by the inspectors-general of the provinces, and by the reports of the police, have been confirmed by passages in a letter addressed to the Khedive himself by Sadyk Pacha, in giving his own dismissal. In presence of acts of such gravity his Highness the Khedive caused the matter to be judged by his Privy Council, which condemned Ismaïl Sadyk Pacha to exile, and close confinement at Dongola.”

The *Phare*, a semi-official journal in French, in republishing this communication next day, adds :—

“The ex-minister, who had been kept on board a steamer on the river, to await the decision of the Privy Council, was immediately placed on board another steamer, which left forthwith for Upper Egypt.”

From that hour to this the Mouffetich has been lost to the sight of man, and a thousand and one stories of the precise manner and time of his “taking off,” many of the

wildest and mostly improbable character, have been circulated and credited in foreign and native circles in Egypt.

Some time after his disappearance, a circular was sent to the foreign consuls-general, announcing the death of the ex-minister at Dongola, accompanied by a *procès verbal* from the governor of that province, testifying to the fact of his arrival and death, enclosing also an autopsy made by three physicians, who, after post-mortem examination, declared that he died a natural death from fatigue, grief, and excess.

But most of the Cairenes and Alexandrians shook their heads sagely over this statement, and persist in believing that the Mouffetich did not survive his arrest twenty-four hours; and that the steamer which passed up the Nile, with windows carefully nailed up looking like a floating coffin, encountered by Nile travellers, and said to be transporting the Mouffetich to his place of exile in Upper Egypt, was only sent up for effect; and contained neither the living nor the dead ex-favourite and ex-minister.

So this must take its place among the other many mysteries of this most mysterious land: whose officials must shake in their shoes sometimes, in remote provinces, when thinking of their old superior and employer, the Mouffetich, and the thick darkness that enshrouds his real offence and fate.

But however this may be, his removal from public station and private intercourse with the Khedive marks the vanishing point of the old system of extortion, fraud, and cruelty, of which he was the master, and the substitution of a more humane and wiser policy, which alone can save the Khedive and his country from the ruin

that menaced both—whose ominous shadow has not yet disappeared.

Such mushroom growths are possible only in the soil where Jonah's gourd attained its wonderful growth in the shortest possible space of time; but his rise and fall, and the relics of his luxury, must recall more the romances of the "Thousand and One Nights," than the sober experiences of modern Egypt in the nineteenth century.

The soil in which such poisonous fungi can suddenly spring up and flourish in rank luxuriance, certainly needs draining and cleansing.

But as Mehemet Ali's old citadel palace, and even his hareem apartments, are now appropriated to the army staff, it is more than probable that the costly piles of the Mouffetich may come to some such use at last. For the moment they constitute the sole monument of the man, who ruled Egypt with a rod of iron for eight years, and died a dog's death at last.

In order, however, not to present a bad specimen of the native-born Egyptian (and indeed a Mouffetich is always an exceptional type in every land), I shall conclude these sketches of Egyptians, with a brief notice of a man of whom any nation might be justly proud.

Hekkekyan Bey was one of that strange race which, like the Hebrew, has preserved its nationality without a country, and is as distinctive to-day as it was thousands of years ago. He was an Armenian Christian, a kinsman of Artin Bey, a former minister. Educated by order of Mehemet Ali in England early in the present century, he spoke English with the correctness of a native, and without the slightest accent; he was a member and correspondent of several philosophical societies, as thorough

an Englishman to talk to as you might meet any day in Pall Mall or Piccadilly. Employed in the Foreign Office at home under that now remote reign, he fell into disfavour, being no courtier, and for thirty-five years spent his time in learned leisure, keeping up constant intercourse with foreign *savants* and societies, and occupying himself with abstruse philosophical investigations. Among other things, he promulgated a theory that the Pyramids—of which he asserted there had been a long chain—were intended as barriers to the encroachment of the desert sands: and not, as usually supposed, monuments to human pride, or the tombs of kings. To see him abroad in his Oriental dress, mounted on his favourite dromedary, scouring along the Shoubra road or over the desert, you would have considered him a veritable type of the old Oriental. But visit him in his house at Cairo, also thoroughly Oriental, embowered in gardens, and on his table you would see the latest scientific publications from England, together with the latest English journals, evidently his favourite reading. Converse with him, and you would marvel at the extent and accuracy of his general information, and at the originality and boldness of his philosophic speculations; and leaving him, you would regret that powers so rare had been of so little use to himself or to mankind. He died at the age of sixty-eight, prematurely old, and like Swift “at top first.” The men who knew Egypt and the Egyptians twenty years since, and more recent visitors, will remember him as a very exceptional type of the Europeanized Oriental.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAND OF EGYPT AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

Egypt nothing, if not agricultural—Contrasted with India and China—Feeds her own population—"The life of Egypt"—Five million acres under cultivation—How cultivated—Flax culture—Cotton culture—Sugar culture—Extracts from recent report on Khedive's sugar estates—Curious facts and figures relating to it—The grain crops—The date and fruit culture—Land taxation—A painful picture of a year's work in the fields.

EGYPT is nothing, if not agricultural. There is her strength, her substance, her existence; and so has it been with her since the days when Joseph was Pharaoh's chief counsellor, and she was the unexhaustible granary of the world.

Reference has already been made to the wild and fruitless efforts of Mehemet Ali to change her natural bent and bias, and introduce manufacturing and mining industries by main strength; resulting only in a great waste of time, money, machinery, and labour. Similar lessons have been given to those of his successors who sought to imitate his example: and the conclusion has been forced upon unwilling minds that in the soil alone lies the strength and the wealth of Egypt. The whole extent of land under cultivation at present is nearly five millions of acres, of which about 719,000 are devoted to the culture of cotton; the rest is devoted to rice, sugar,

beans, barley, maize, and clover (*bersim*). From two to three successive crops can be made off this land each year, owing to the peculiar features of climate, soil and cultivation.

It has often and justly been said that "the Nile is the life of Egypt!" for it is owing to the aid of its fertilizing waters that Egypt is, and has ever been, such an exhaustless granary and storehouse of food for man; while farther east we hear, year after year, the despairing cry of famishing millions echoing across the wide waters, "Give us bread or we perish!" Yet hands are far more numerous in India and in China—labour far more plentiful and cheaper than in Egypt. But the great artery of Egypt's life is lacking to them; they have no Nile, bearing down from Abyssinia, and regions yet unexplored, the rich deposits with which it annually fertilizes the favoured land of Egypt, and renews the exhaustion consequent on the cultivation of untold centuries. In more primitive times the great river was allowed to follow its own sweet will, and annually overflow its banks, to place this deposit upon the surface inundated; but of late years engineering skill has been called in to restrain and direct that overflow by means of canals; so that the yearly cutting (the "*Haleeg*") at Cairo, to let in the water from the Nile, has become one of the most imposing State ceremonials, over which the Khedive presides in person, in the midst of great and general public rejoicings.

There are certainly many advantages in the new over the old plan, one of which is that the natural inundation would keep a large body of the lands three months out of cultivation, if left to its own wanderings; but many old Egyptians contend that much of the fertilizing deposit is



lost, by allowing it to settle in the bed of the river, when first brought down from Upper and Central Egypt.

Whether this be true or false, it sounds plausible; and the introduction of fertilizers of late years into Egypt, would seem to give colour to the theory. Man frequently mars Nature's plans by meddling with and trying to improve them; and the Nile is an exceptional stream, in more respects than in its reversal of the ordinary rule in running from south to north: in which caprice it has very few companions.

The whole extent of land under cultivation in Egypt Proper, may be roughly estimated as a little less than five millions of acres, out of which, according to Government statements, 719,000 are devoted to cotton; about 260,000 to sugar, a Khedivial monopoly; and the rest, as previously stated, to different species of grain.

The two last viceroys have done their utmost to introduce steam-ploughs, pumping-machines, and improved agricultural implements: and have introduced them on their own lands, as well as on those of their more enlightened subjects (unfortunately yet very few in number); but the native agriculturists, the fellahs, on their small holdings, prefer and adhere to the ways of their primitive forefathers, with a mild obstinacy that is impossible to overcome. They insist on holding fast to the gróaning water-wheel (or *sakkia*), turned on its creaking wooden beams by the plodding water-ox; they prefer scratching the ground with the rude wooden contrivance that they term a plough; and the "ox that treadeth out the corn," in the Old Testament, has bequeathed his duties to his descendants, on the threshing-floor of the bare earth, where now as then the Egyptian

rustic cleanses his grain. Yet such is the climate, and such the soil, that even with these primitive contrivances, and no fertilizer beyond the Nile water, the most bounteous harvests repay the toil of the fellah: and he has not one only, but two or three successive ones, in the course of one revolving year.

In the earlier days of the new Egypt, the cultivation of flax was carried on very largely and profitably; but has since been supplanted by that of cotton. Ibrahim Pacha was in the habit of selling his crop of flax, in three different parcels to three different purchasers, at different prices and at different times. He used then carefully to compare the three sales, so as to decide where and from whom he could get the best price.

When he paid his short visit to England, he suddenly announced to his suite his intention of visiting Belfast; and did so, that he might examine the machinery, and some new methods of preparing the flax adopted there.

Saïd Pacha did not in person either superintend the cultivation or the sale of the products of his properties, which were never very large. He was too much absorbed in other matters, for which he had more taste. During his time the fellah was left pretty much alone to cultivate his lands, but Saïd took from the peasant proprietors much of the land called *Abadiehs*; i.e. land which could not be sufficiently or efficiently worked, in consequence of the insufficiency of hands in the neighbourhood, owing either to the want of dense population, or removal of the men from the fields for enlistment in the army, or working by *corvée* on the canals; both of which were very heavy drains on the population. He also laid heavier taxes on the fellahs, but being at heart a generous and a just man,

discouraged and punished all oppression or speculation on the part of the tax collectors or governors of provinces, when proven to his satisfaction.

The cotton plant is indigenous to Egypt, and has been cultivated time out of mind on the narrow strip of fertile land which fringes the Upper Nile, beginning at Thebes. But this native cotton is of inferior quality, short in staple, coarse in fibre, and fit only for the manufacture of the coarse stuff worn by the fellah men and women. Its cultivation was very limited, and until the year 1819 it was the only kind grown in Egypt, and was exclusively used for home consumption. In this year, when the energetic rule of Mehemet Ali was reviving old Egypt from its ashes, a Frenchman named Jumel, walking in the gardens of Mako Bey, at Cairo, observed a curious plant, the leaf and flower of which were unfamiliar to him. He questioned the gardener, and learned it was the cotton plant, a few specimens of which had been brought from India, to give variety to the shrubbery of the garden. Seeing the great superiority of this plant to the common kind cultivated in the upper country, M. Jumel brought the matter to the attention of the viceroy; who by his aid and co-operation, succeeded in making its culture general in the fertile lands of the Delta of Lower Egypt: whence the great bulk of the crop is now obtained.

It was not until 1840 that the experiment of introducing the American sea island cotton seed was attempted. Since that time it has been largely introduced, and the yield has been fully equal to that of the best sea island. From some peculiar quality of the soil, however, or possibly from the system of irrigation adopted, it has been found necessary to procure new sea island seed every two

years ; and the Jumel or Mako cotton has therefore been preferred by the Egyptian cultivators.

There are therefore three species of cotton grown in Egypt :

1st. The native cotton, short staple, coarse.

2nd. Mako or Jumel, long staple, fine.

3rd. American sea island, ditto.

These varieties are all perennial, but are sown annually, except the Mako, which will last two years. The Mako is greatly preferred, although the cotton it produces is not quite equal to the best sea island, but rather better than the best American upland cotton.

The two latter species alone are exported ; the first, or native cotton, cultivated on the Upper Nile, being used chiefly for stuffing divans—the Egyptian substitute for our chairs and beds, and which serve the double purpose of seats by day and couches by night, even among the richer classes. It is also used to make the “Nizam” or soldiers’ uniform, as well as the single blue shirt which constitutes the entire toilette of both male and female fellah. The culture of this species is not extensive, nor are these fabrics now manufactured as largely as formerly. Mehemet Ali, who entertained the idea of manufacturing on a large scale, established twenty-four large factories, employing 24,000 operatives, but it was soon found to be unprofitable ; so that in 1852 all that remained of his great enterprise were one large mill worked by steam, and three small ones worked by ox-power, manufacturing chiefly army uniforms, and consuming on an average not more than 10,000 bales of cotton per annum.

The rapidity with which the cotton culture developed itself, after M. Jumel’s walk in the garden at Cairo,

may be inferred from the following statement of exports:—

In 1821, Exports were 60 bags, of 100 lbs. each.

1822	"	"	500	"	"	"
1823	"	"	1200	"	"	"
1824	"	"	1500	"	"	"

This too while Mehemet Ali's experiment of manufacturing was going on, consuming an amount of which we have no means of judging, as statistics are a modern innovation in Egypt. In 1852 the annual exportations of cotton had risen to about 44,000,000 pounds; in 1856, to 57,000,000; and in 1865, to the maximum of 560,000 bales.

Quite recently a new kind of cotton has been discovered and successfully cultivated in Egypt, which is said to yield much more than any previously known. Indeed, it is claimed that the yield is four times as great as that of the ordinary kinds. I was told that this cotton has this peculiarity, that the bolls, instead of being attached to the branches of the plant, adhere closely to the stem. I was not fortunate enough to be able to obtain any specimens of the plant itself: but the seeds were in great demand, and some have already been sent abroad. The lucky discoverer is a native planter, and the new cotton is causing some excitement and very "great expectations" in the breasts of the excitable Alexandrians, to whom cotton still is king! in despite of the heavy losses their over-confidence in that plant and its products has caused them. From one of these gentlemen, who probably understands the business, and the cotton culture in Egypt, better than any man there, I obtained the statement which will be found in the appendix: and which, coming from a private and reliable source, may be more thoroughly

depended upon than the statements made by or through the agents of the Government, who often have their own private reasons for increasing or diminishing the annual yield, or exportation, from private or public considerations.*

While cotton brought high prices—it rose to half-a-crown per pound during the American war—it paid well; but at 7*d.*, as it now is, it is hard to see how it can bring a profit on its production.

SUGAR.—The culture of the cane, and the production of sugar, have been the great hobby of the present ruler of Egypt: who has devoted to them an immense sum of money, and a very great quantity of the labour of the country, diverted for that purpose from far more profitable pursuits. This labour, if it cost him personally little, has cost the country and the fellahs prodigiously dear, and has excited great discontent among these patient people throughout Upper Egypt, whence the *corvées* for it have been drawn (if I am correctly informed, for of this I do not speak from my own personal knowledge).

How much this experiment has cost, it is impossible even to form an idea of: but the enormous amount of useless machinery purchased and never used, or used unprofitably; the vast sums expended on the preparation of the lands, and the creation of a canal, on which it is estimated a fourth of the labour devoted to that of Suez had to be employed, constitute the direct expenses. The indirect outlay may be computed at a very large sum, and is represented by the labour of the fellahs for three

* See Appendix E.

months every year upon these lands; which labour, if bestowed on their own fields, in the production and rotation of their grain crops, would produce far more profitable results,—not to speak of the improvement in their condition. Even were they paid for their labour on the Khedive's lands—which I am credibly informed they seldom if ever are, and in food if at all—the public loss must be equally great in the diminution of the crops; theirs being the only available labour.

I am not aware that any of the reports on the Khedivial debts and property touch on this point, which is certainly a very delicate one.

A very full and apparently fair report on these sugar properties has recently been made by two foreign experts who have lately visited them, from which I shall make a few extracts, never having personally visited the place.

They report an abundant supply of water, a good railway system for conveyance of the canes, etc., and a quantity of machinery vastly exceeding the wants of the mills, of which also there are many more, both in and out of working order, than there is any necessity for. "The scarcity of labour alone prevents the extension of the plantations" in their judgment.

The Khedive's sugar estates, on the line of railway from Cairo to Assiout, extend over a tract 100 miles in length, and from twelve to sixteen miles in breadth, chiefly on the west side of the Nile.

Canes are grown on the same land two years in succession without replanting, after which the roots are ploughed up, and the land either left fallow for a year, or a grain crop put in. The visitors consider the canes to be planted too close together, viz. but three feet apart :

whereas in the West Indies six feet are allowed. The mode of cutting down—hacking with a blunt hatchet—is also objected to. Steam ploughs are in use there. “Complete machinery for twenty-two factories seem to have been imported, some of which are partly erected, others becoming gradually buried in the sands on the river’s banks. There is a skeleton factory near the Feshu station, of which the machinery has been three parts erected, but the walls were never commenced, and the machines left to ruin. Original cost in Europe for machinery for larger factories is said to have been about £130,000 each.”

A large amount of unused extra machinery is lying scattered about over the whole country, arising from French and English rivalry in the erection of factories. The total cost of the factories is roughly estimated at £5,000,000; add £2,000,000 more for cost of rolling stock of the estate railway, pumping engines, etc., and the total cost rises to £7,000,000. There is a system of railway all over the estate, connecting the different factories. This is the only way in which the cane can be brought in fast enough; 18,000 cantars, or over 800 tons, per day being required to keep the large factories going, working day and night for sixty or seventy days, commencing at the beginning of the year, as the canes must be crushed up immediately on ripening. The factories are under the management of the engineer, the only European now employed on these works; the management of the estate being entirely in Arab hands, each separate manager looking exclusively to the private interests of his section, regardless of the general welfare. Their *feddān* is elastic, and their habit is to return a larger quantity of land than

is really under cultivation, to make their profits out of imaginary disbursements for labour, etc. Speaking of the improvements that might be made under European administration, the report says—"Certainly a higher rate of wages would have to be paid than that now paid by the Daira; and there would be probably an insufficiency of labour, owing to the thin population of this part of the country, and the *aversion of the people to the work*. *At present all the labour is compulsory*."

"At Assiout we saw some small *corvées* working on the above-mentioned canal banks. Small children, and boys and girls as young as seven or eight years, were walking all day up and down the banks, with their baskets of earth. Their pay was a daily supply of bread, which has certainly improved in quality on that supplied them last year. We visited the bakery, and saw that it was made simply of coarsely ground wheaten flour, but the Nile mud and chopped straw had not been too carefully extracted. It was lightened, more or less, by sour dough. Still it was comparatively good and wholesome. The man in charge confessed the quality to be superior to that of last year, but attributed the reason solely to the improvement in the wheat; a doubtful reason, seeing that they are still using last season's wheat, which they were then using in its new condition. The children looked very thin and miserable, and their extreme poverty was evinced by the unbounded delight exhibited by a small boy, on receiving a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a penny."

This is certainly not a flattered or a pleasing picture, nor can it be regarded as an exceptional one. "There are a dozen sets of large fixed pumping engines, with fine

brick building and tall chimney each, on the Nile banks; but their use has been destroyed by the new canal, called the Ibrahimieh, which is cut from the river at Assiout by fellah labour: twenty-five to thirty yards in average breadth, with rows of fine bridges, locks, and sluices dividing the canal into three large branches and two small canals. The cost of these disused pumps was probably not less than £500,000. This new canal is one of the largest, finest, and most costly in the country. Its chief use is to supply water to the Khedive's estates." No statement or estimate as to its cost is given.

The labour question is thus touched on in this report, from which it appears that some pay is given or promised to the labourers, which is "paid in kind—grain or molasses—on which the Daïra makes a profit;" thus reducing the pay, wretched as it is. In fact the skilled labourers are the only ones who really get, or are promised, anything beyond a little coarse food—"grain or molasses"—which can keep a man or boy in that climate in bad working order. The report says—

"The wages received by the ordinary hands in the factories are 7*d.* to 7½*d.* per day for men and 4*d.* for boys, and by the hands working in the fields 4*d.* per day for men and 2½*d.* for boys. They are always paid in *kind*—grain or molasses—on which the Daïra as a rule makes a profit. As mentioned above, *they are compelled to work*. Their condition is exceedingly miserable, and their appearance much more savage than the fellahs of the Delta. Skilled Arab labourers, such as men that attend to the engines and such like work, receive 20*s.* to 25*s.* per month. Men driving the locomotive engines receive from

£3 to £5 per month, and stokers about 30s. per month. The pay of all is allowed to get much in arrear."

The grain culture in Egypt—which is so large as to suffice not only to feed its own population, but to export largely to other countries—together with the cotton culture, occupies the exclusive attention of the fellahs, when they are not drawn from it by requisitions to work on the canals or drafted into the army, the conscription being practised in a most irregular and sweeping manner. In peaceful times, however, a large proportion of the soldiers are sent back on leave to their villages to aid in tilling the ground; and even while in actual service their labour is often utilized by their being set to work in squads in the fields, under command of non-commissioned officers. It is said their labour is far superior to and more reliable than that of the ordinary fellah, who is a steady but not a fast worker in the old style. This conversion of the bayonet into the plough, is one of the most sensible things which is done by the Egyptian Government; and a permanent change in the occupation of thousands of the stalwart young fellows, who constitute the army of Egypt, by their return to peaceful pursuits, would prove a blessing to them and to their country; since war is a game at which only powerful monarchs can afford to play. The land now pays an annual tax of almost, if not quite, £4,000,000, including the Moukabaleh—of which explanation will be given in the chapter on finance—a taxation which, on 5,000,000 acres (one-fifth of which, being royal property, only nominally pays the tax), must be admitted to be very onerous indeed.

But, unhappily, this is only one of the Government

impositions on the landholders, as the annexed statement from a most reliable source will show. The value of the crops on average lands on the two years' system of rotation is as follows :—

	Expenses.		
	P.T.	Water.	P.T.
" Cotton, 3½ cantars, at .. 260 equal to 910 less 260 equal to 650			
Wheat, 6 ardebs, at .. 50 "	240	70	170
Maize, 3 ardebs, at .. 60 "	180	100	80
Bersim (clover), per crop — "	600	140	460
			<u>P.T. 1360</u>
			£13 19s. 0d.

"In the three years' rotation these figures would, of course, be altered, but as I am only considering the fellahen cultivation, it is unnecessary to give the three years' figures in detail. Thus the gross annual receipts of the two feddans, at the present price of cotton, only came to about £7. The expenses which must be deducted, in addition to the watering, in order to arrive at the net result, such as the price of seed, labour, and carriage, are difficult to arrive at, and vary according to circumstances. Thus the cattle plague of this year has swept away two-thirds of the horses in the country, and has enormously increased the expense of carriage to railway, canal, or warehouse. But the ordinary calculation is that the wheat, maize, and clover crops pay all working and living expenses, and the value of the cotton—£6 13s. 6d.—goes to pay the two years' taxes. The living expenses are marvellously small. Bread and vegetables are the food, Nile water the drink, an annual cotton gown the clothing, a mud hut the shelter. There could not be a creature of fewer wants than the Egyptian fellah. It will be a sign

of progress when he is less of an animal and his wants are more complex.

"Now, as regards the amount of taxation, I am informed on very good authority that the taxes levied on land during the last two years in the Delta, including the Moukabaleh, the National Loan, and a small war tax, have exceeded P.T.400* per annum. The taxation has therefore been in actual excess of receipts, and although the fellah and his family have slaved in the fields from sunrise to sundown, he has failed to make the two ends meet. In many cases loans from Europeans at usurious rates have furnished the means of payment. Pay-day has now come. The capitalists are encashing what they can, and the tribunals are full of such cases. In fact, it is going hard with the fellaheen—beasts, produce, goods, hareem jewellery where it existed, and even the land itself are being sold to meet their debts. One does not like to believe that even this enormous fiscal charge has been increased by irregular exactions, but all informants concur in saying that this has been so."

This is not a pleasing picture, but my own observation and inquiries induce me to believe that it is, unhappily, a true one.

The Khedive ought not justly to be saddled with the whole responsibility of this, for he is the heir to a vicious system, and the clamour of his creditors, public and private, has driven him almost to desperation, and desperate diseases often demand desperate remedies.

The creditors of Egypt, however, who are the instiga-

* We may roughly reckon 100 piastres to the pound sterling, which would bring the taxation up to £4 per annum.

ting cause of these exactions and oppressions, should have sense enough to see that no goose, however golden, can long survive such treatment—no people, however patient and long-suffering, live and work under it. The speedy end of persistence in a policy at once so cruel and so fatal should at once be insisted upon, even at the cost of a reduction of the interest now paid them out of the sweat and blood of the fellaheen, and by impositions, ordinary and extraordinary, which no country or people on earth could long endure.

Gladly indeed, if he could safely do so, would the Khedive diminish these burdens; and his offer to assign over his sugar estates to his creditors, and wash his hands of all responsibility, proves at once his humanity and his sagacity.

Shall Christian creditors be less humane and less sagacious than this Mohammedan ruler? Will they make themselves responsible before heaven and earth of complicity in cruelties and exactions, which sicken even the callous hearts of the Moslem, who are, under their constraint, inflicting them?

These are questions that the outside world, who are not creditors to the Khedive, will ask, and which they must be prepared to answer. For, I repeat, the solution of this stern problem rests more with them than with Ismail Khedive, "who is as clay in the hands of the potter," in the hands of his foreign creditors."

CHAPTER XII.

THE FELLAHEEN.

Who is the fellah, and what is he?—His earlier history as written on the tombs and temples, in the Scriptures, on stone and papyrus—A letter three thousand years old concerning him, in the British Museum—How Joseph treated him under Pharaoh—Origin of land tenure in Egypt—Under the Mamelukes and the house of Mehemet Ali, the new masters of his “house of bondage”—His treatment under successive viceroys—His present condition.

ONE fundamental mistake underlies almost everything that has been said or written of the Egyptian fellah, either by his sentimental or indignant advocates, by kind-hearted women or sympathetic tourists, who, regarding him as the dumb drudge—the serf, *adscriptus glebæ*, attached to the land and not owning it—have been entirely in error as to his true position and stake in the country, which owes its wealth to him.

Strange as it may sound to those who know and have seen the fellah only by the wayside, or working in gangs upon the *corvées* (compulsory labour for public works), or whining out for “backsheesh” at the railway stations, every man among them is or has been a land-owner or a land-holder by lease; and the bitterest taunt that one fellah woman can launch at another is this, in the Arabic vulgate: “Go! Poor woman! Your man does not own



even a 'karat' (twenty-fourth part of an acre) of land!" So identical are property and "respectability," even among these ragged landed aristocrats!

The researches of Egyptologists have proved that the common belief, that the fellah is not the direct descendant of the Egyptian labourer, is equally erroneous. They have proved him not to be a spawn of the Arab conquerors under Amrou, but the original denizen of the soil: who, submitting to this last invasion, as he had to all preceding ones, ended by adopting the language and religion of the latest of his masters.

Not only do the recently deciphered papyri attest this, but an observant traveller to-day, turning from the sculptured faces in the processions in the temples and tombs, to the faces of the fellaheen who bear the torches by whose light he sees them, cannot fail to be struck by the similarity in type and outline between the two; still distinctly recognizable after the lapse of four thousand years.

The Copt is manifestly of the same ancient race, perhaps of a higher caste or class; or, perhaps the differences of religion, culture, and occupation in cities for centuries, and sedentary and studious lives, may have occasioned the difference in the complexion and contour between the two: which in the upper country are not so perceptible as in the Delta, or in the cities. It is also probable that the Copt is of purer blood: for in many of the fellahs the intermixture of negro blood is plainly perceptible, both in complexion and conformation.

Discarding then these fundamental errors in the outset, and recognizing the fellah as the aboriginal Egyptian by blood and descent, as well as the landed proprietor, let us

examine his past and present lot in the home to which he has adhered for ages, apparently as immovable from it as the Pyramids, reared by the toil, sweat, and blood of his forefathers.

The condition of the man who aspires to no higher lot than a living earned by daily manual labour—of the daily drudge, tilling the fields from sunrise to sunset, demanding only “a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work”—has in all ages and countries been a hard and a pitiable one, and is so still. It is so even to-day, in countries boasting the brighter lights of Christianity and civilization, separated as “the labouring class” are even there by a wall higher than the Chinese, from their more fortunate and richer brethren, whose own good fortune and merit, or that of their progenitors, has placed them higher in the scale, and relieved them from the debasing drudgery of incessant toil. Without preaching either Chartism or Communism, or declaring with the French philosopher that “all property is robbery,” every candid and thoughtful inquirer into the problem of our modern social system must admit, that the unequal distribution of this world’s goods, and the disparities in the lot assigned to the different classes that constitute the population of different countries from birth to death, prove that we are still far from securing “the greatest good of the greatest number,” even by our model institutions, in this nineteenth century.

While Christendom can show, in its ripest fruit, such cankers as large bodies of daily labourers not only living “without God in the world”—like dumb driven cattle—but even ignorant of His existence, and dwelling underground in a darkness that is moral as well as physical—while large masses of peasantry all over Europe are as

stolid and ignorant, and far more brutal, in their tempers and propensities, than the oxen they drive; it cannot too loudly condemn Eastern rulers when a maddened labouring class, in the great centre of our civilization, can perpetrate the horrors of the Commune, and hundreds feast and revel in high places, while millions drudge and pine and starve in the midst of plenty. We, in our more favoured countries, may not hold up our hands like the Pharisee, and "thank God we are not as other men!" when the fellah's lot is compared with that of the labourer elsewhere, dreary and forlorn as the fellah's lot may be.

But it is exceptional in this—that as his forerunners were in the time of the building of the Pyramids, when Moses led his people out of the "house of bondage," when Joseph was the favourite at Pharaoh's Court, and when successive waves of races swept over Egypt, each leaving its mark; even so is he to-day, the humble tiller of the soil, content with the scantiest supply of food and raiment and shelter, and the smallest wages for his daily work, that ever kept together body and soul, in any clime or age.

Coming down as late as the Norman invasion of England the Saxon churl's existence was little if any better than the fellah's; for he was not even a free man, he wore round his neck the visible badge and collar that announced his slavery, which the fellah never did, being always nominally free: and was lodged and fed scarcely better than the swine he tended. But Gurth the swineherd has passed into tradition now, and the Saxon blent with the Norman blood makes the backbone of the country, the vigorous English yeoman. The continental peasant too has improved with the progress of his country into

something more than a mere dumb drudge: but the Egyptian labourer has not risen much above the level of that life we see sculptured on stone, on the walls of the old tombs and temples, thousands of years ago. He is still the sole tiller of the soil, a tool in the hands of merciless taskmasters, "a strong ass crouching under burdens:" yet, strange to say, as contented and merry a creature, as apparently blind, deaf, and careless to his own wrongs and hardships and ill usage, as the patient ox and ass, who are his daily and congenial associates. To him the old "house of bondage" seems to have been a peculiar heritage, and to have lost many of its terrors; for, from generation to generation, he abides peacefully and uncomplainingly under the shadow of its palms, and performs his allotted task, if not uncomplainingly at least patiently.

Modern research and patience, which have disinterred and deciphered the old papyrus records of the elder Egypt, have recently given us a curious proof of the unchanged and apparently unchangeable condition of the Egyptian labourer. A papyrus now preserved in the British Museum contains part of the correspondence between Ameneman, the chief librarian of Ramses the Great, and the poet of the period, Pentatour, whose poem recording the achievements of the Egyptian monarch is engraved on the walls of the temple of Karnak at Luxor. In a letter written to this Tennyson of three thousand years since, Ameneman thus describes the condition of the Egyptian peasant of his day. As the translator justly remarks "one seems to hear Fénelon or La Bruyère speaking of the poverty, the ignorance, the sordid existence of the French peasant under Louis XIV.," only the Egyptian's lot was far the harder of the two!

"Have you ever represented to yourself in imagination," says Ameneman, "the estate of the rustic who tills the ground? Before he has put the sickle to his crop the locusts have blasted part thereof; then come the rats and birds. If he is slack in housing his crop, the thieves are on him. His horse dies of weariness as it drags the wain. The tax-collector arrives; his agents are armed with clubs, he has negroes with him who carry whips of palm branches. They all cry, 'Give us your grain!' and he has no way of avoiding their extortionate demands. Next, the wretch is caught, bound, and sent off to work, without wage, at the canals; his wife is taken and chained, his children are stripped and plundered."

Without asserting or believing that the Egyptian fellah's lot to-day is truly shadowed forth in this terrible picture of the ancient Egyptian labourer, sketched by a contemporary observer more than three thousand years ago, I may still suggest that, in some respects and in some cases, it is applicable still, away from the great cities and thoroughfares, which rest under the eye of the Khedive and of the European population; giving the Khedive the credit of not being responsible for a tithe of the wrongs and outrages perpetrated under cover of his name. But the system that allows such outrages and oppression, in despite of the efforts of a reforming prince to rectify them, certainly demands a complete and radical revision, in his own interests, as well as in those of our common humanity.

Without crediting all the stories that are current, as to the treatment and condition of the fellah population in the upper country and remoter provinces, it must be evident to the eye of the most careless observer, who

passes any time in the country—even in making the ordinary Nile voyage—that the fellahs are miserably lodged in huts of mud, with no pretensions either to cleanliness or comfort; that they are insufficiently clothed in dirty blue cotton shirts (men and women), and underfed; while, at the same time, they are overworked and overtaxed: and the proportion of those who are either comfortable in circumstances or condition is so small as almost to count as nothing in the calculation! This state of things certainly should not be allowed to continue as a reproach, not only to Egypt, but to our century; and something should be done to raise these poor creatures to the level of the labouring class elsewhere; low as that level unfortunately is in too many countries, calling themselves civilized and Christian.

This should be the Khedive's first care, and should take the precedence in his mind of grand schemes for the extension of his empire, or for public improvements, or for the erection of costly palaces or piles of stone and marble in his great cities; lest the old cry again arise from the suffering people, to curb his pride—“*We ask for bread, and you give us stones!*”

The “true believer,” both Turkish and Arab, lays great store by the teachings and acts of the early Hebrew patriarchs, whose lives and environment assimilated so much to his own, and has deduced from both the rules which govern his society to-day. His version, however, of the utterances and doings of the early Israelites varies considerably, in many instances, from our accepted version of them; and one of these discrepancies relates to the proceedings of Joseph during the seven years of famine that succeeded the seven years of plenty in Egypt, after

his reading of Pharaoh's bad dream about the seven fat and the seven lean kine.

The Moslem version of Joseph's proceeding on this memorable occasion is, that he availed himself of the distress and famine among the people, and of his own superior foresight in laying up large supplies of grain during the years of plenty, by buying up from the starving people one-fifth of the land of Egypt, in consideration of corn supplied them at famine prices—an act more creditable to his head than to his heart, however it may redound to his business capacity. Hence the Arab conquerors of Egypt established in Egypt a "*wakf*," or ownership on the part of the Church of one-fifth of the lands, together with a *dime*, or tax in the shape of a tithe, upon the rest, which tax, varying in sum and substance—always heavy, and recently most oppressive—paid in kind or produce instead of money, and thus made as elastic as the conscience of the tax-gatherer, has continued to be levied until this day. The Eastern tax-gatherer, from immemorial time, has been a leech of the worst description; for even Matthew, who afterwards was numbered among the saints subsequently to his change of heart on encountering Christ, is noted in the New Testament as having been "an unjust collector of taxes;" and his lineal descendants in nature, if not in blood, still abound throughout the Eastern world.

When, following in the footsteps of the Greek, the Roman, and the Goth, Amrou led his victorious army, under the flag of the Crescent, to take possession of Egypt, and the Holy Land became also the spoil of the infidel, the old land titles were left undisturbed, though tribute and taxation were imposed on the proprietors. Through

all the anarchy that succeeded the Arab occupation (including the brilliant but oppressive sway of the Mamelukes, and brief episode of Napoleon's memorable occupation of Egypt), the possession of the soil still remained in the hands of the fellahs, with the exception of a small portion held by the ruling race, more for their occupation and pleasure than for their profit. But when, early in the present century, Mehemet Ali was named by the Sublime Porte as Pacha of Egypt, and after he had secured his absolute control of the country and people, though still professing allegiance to the Porte, by the slaughter of the Mamelukes, he turned his attention to the land question in most Napoleonic fashion. There were two kinds of land—one held in fee and cultivated by the peasant proprietors; the other the *Abadiehs*, or waste lands. Mehemet Ali finding or pretending that many of the lands of both qualities were insufficiently cultivated, or not at all, in consequence of the insufficiency of the population, and that consequently the taxes due his Government therefor were or could not be paid in sufficient sums to meet his wants—which were ever increasing—for the great schemes of public improvement he meditated, disturbed the existing arrangements by making large grants of land to his favourites to cultivate, taken partly from one class, partly from another, sometimes dispossessing the original proprietors.

When, after his long and brilliant rule of more than forty years, his grandson Abbas succeeded to the throne (the mere episode of the seventy days' reign of Ibrahim counting for nothing in this regard), there was an immediate and radical change of policy in this respect. For Abbas, with all his other faults, was the staunch friend and supporter of the fellah in all his ancient rights and

privileges, which he revived and secured to him both by edicts and by practical action. While depriving the rich of the lands given them by Mehemet Ali, that they might revert to their original owners: despoiling the wealthy, to whom he was both unjust and cruel: and making himself an object of suspicion and terror to the members of his own family: he was the constant friend and patron of the lower class; which history proves to have been no exceptional case with despots.

Be this as it may, however, the fact remains, whatever the prompting reason may have been; and the Egyptian fellah really has more cause to-day to bless the memory of the gloomy and cruel Abbas, than that of the generous-tempered, open-hearted Saïd, in so far as this land question is concerned.

For Saïd reversed, and to a considerable extent undid the restitution made by Abbas in respect to the land tenure; reverting more to the policy of his grandfather—imposing additional burdens of taxation upon it, and parcelling out again much of what he declared to be public lands, because their proprietors could not cultivate or properly utilize them.

The policy of Ismaïl Khedive has differed from that of all his predecessors; for, while he has imposed more and heavier taxes upon land, its products, and its occupants, so as to wring treble the revenues out of it ever obtained by Saïd, his immediate predecessor: he has secured for himself, in his own name and those of his sons and daughters, fully one-fifth of the best and most valuable of the lands of Egypt under actual cultivation; but one-half of which, the title being in his own name, he offers to his personal creditors, in extinction of his Daira debt.

When he mounted the throne in 1863—just fourteen

yéars ago—his personal real estate was comparatively small in quantity. Since that time he has bought out the property of his half-brother Mustafa and his uncle Halim, for many millions respectively, for which two of the Egyptian loans were issued; thus creating the confusion between the public and private indebtedness, which has rendered the task of successive financiers, sent from abroad to clear up these accounts, so difficult and perplexing.*

The present condition of the fellah, and of the real estate of Egypt is as follows:—There are 5,000,000 of feddams under cultivation. Of these, 1,000,000 are Khedivial or family property; the rest, outside of a few large landed proprietors, such as Nubar and Cherif Pachas, and other high dignitaries of the Court or distant members of the blood royal, amounting to say 3,500,000 feddams, is still the property of the fellaheen, or native peasantry. Their lands are subject, however, to a most grinding taxation, varying from £1 10s. to £3 10s. per feddan per annum—some say even more—by irregular impositions; in most instances giving the cultivator, or peasant proprietor, only enough out of his earnings to eke out a bare subsistence, and afford such scanty and insufficient shelter, food, and clothing as keeps life together in himself, his family, and the camel, ox, or ass he employs in his daily labour.

The taxes, too, are taken in kind, not in cash; so that the tax-collector can levy an additional amount by his valuation of the crop.

Then too comes the new tax borrowed from France—

* See Mr. Sandar's statement of the Khedive's Daira property and the supposed income therefrom in Appendix.

the octroi, which is estimated at eight per cent. *ad valorem*; and is also liable to increase the same way.

There is also a tax upon date-trees bearing fruit, a tax upon trades and professions, a tax even upon donkey-boys, who have to pay for their badges. In fact, taxation seems modelled upon the old Roman model, as mentioned in the Scripture, where the edict went out from Cæsar that "all the world should be taxed;" and that relic of the old Roman rule has certainly survived in full force and vigour in Egypt, supplemented by more modern inventions, such as the octroi.

But the heaviest imposition of all is that of the *corvée*, which, nominally abolished, except in case of necessary labour on the canals for irrigation, is still enforced on a large scale in the upper country, for the benefit of the Khedive's sugar estates, and those of his family and particular favourites: where for three months in the year large bodies of men are taken in gangs to work, receiving neither wages nor food for themselves and their camels—their wives having to bake and bring bread for their husbands, and the men to supply and feed their own cattle.

Domestic slavery in Egypt, and the internal slave-trade which has long supplied its demands and those of Turkey in Europe—against which European philanthropy raises its voice so loudly, and against which all its shafts are levelled—great as their abuses may be, are far more difficult to reach and remedy, than this other cancer in the breast of Egyptian society, to extirpate which might be a slow, but would certainly be a comparatively easy task, as well as a profitable one, to the Khedive and his country. Now that he has offered to surrender up the management

and proceeds of his vast sugar estates to his creditors, that they may be placed under European control and direction, the main cause for the continuance of the *corvée*, or of compulsory labour, either in the fields or on the private canals which irrigate them, will cease to exist; and the Khedive himself no longer be tempted to resort to it, under pretexts however specious.

Let us therefore hope that, under these new circumstances, the fellah's lot may be ameliorated, and his opportunity of getting "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" out of his own fields be no longer prevented; as well as that, in providing for the payment of the foreign creditors, and presenting a good showing in the monthly receipts in the *Caisse* presided over by the European controllers, equal consideration may be shown for the native tax-payer, as for those he is made to pay out of the sweat of his brow, for money which never profited him.

I find some statements so *à propos* to this in the Alexandria correspondence of the *Times*, of a recent date, that I cannot forbear to quote it in confirmation of my own comments on this head. The correspondent says—

"The war-tax which was voted by the Egyptian notables is being rapidly encashed, and the usual mode of collection is being followed, as regards that portion which falls on the land. The sheiks of the villages are summoned to the chief towns. The moudirs, or governors, tell them how much is needed, and when. A rough assessment is nominally followed, and the authorities are supposed to be guided by certain fiscal regulations. But these paper restrictions are not too strictly observed; all the moudir really insists upon is that the money be forthcoming; and it goes hard with the sheik who fails to

squeeze the right amount out of his people. The tax is levied as an increased charge of ten per cent. on all previous imposts, after the manner of the *centimes additionels* which provide for provincial administration in France. It will realize about half a million sterling. But that amount is increased by a voluntary subscription, a patriotic fund, raised from the native moneyed class, which will provide an additional £100,000."

The simplicity of this contrivance for squeezing the fellah, is only equalled by its completeness. Appeals to "patriotism," made in such a shape, cannot fail to meet a satisfactory response; but can the fellah bear these additional impositions, broad as his back may be?

The correspondent goes on to confirm yet more strongly my previous assertions as to the present condition of the labouring class, and his testimony, coming from a witness on the spot, carries conviction with it. He says—

"A contract was concluded yesterday by the Government with a Manchester house, which much improves the prospect of the July coupon; £500,000 is to be advanced, one-half now, one-half in London, on the 10th of July. The Government on its side undertakes to deliver by that date, in successive deliveries of 50,000 *ardebs*, 600,000 *ardebs* of wheat and beans, which are to be paid for at the market price of the day in Alexandria. This produce consists wholly of taxes paid by the peasants in kind; and when one thinks of the poverty-stricken, over-driven, underfed fellaheen in their miserable hovels, working late and early to fill the pockets of the creditors, the punctual payment of the coupon ceases to be wholly a subject of gratification. The fellah would open his eyes if he were told that taxes are only payment for benefits received; a con

tribution to a fund which is wholly expended for the public good !”

With this confirmatory testimony as to the fellah's actual condition and prospects, under the existing state of things, I close this chapter, which could readily be made a volume, and even then the half would not have been told.

To see the Egyptian fellah as the traveller sees him, he is a most amusing, picturesque, and Oriental object, in perfect keeping with the scenery which surrounds him—whether jogging along on his small donkey, his feet almost touching the ground, in his peculiar costume, which, scanty as it is, suffices for his comfort in that climate ; or labouring in the fields, accompanied by his strange-looking water-ox, half cow, half hippopotamus in appearance ; or, when his day's work is over, squatting upon his hams in that position which only he can comfortably assume, and which would certainly entail a cramp in the leg or a back somersault on any less-experienced practitioner. In spite of his dirt, his rags, his half-starved appearance, he looks happy, or, if not happy, content with his lot, hard as it seems to the stranger. If “happiness” be indeed “our being's end and aim,” then must the poor fellah, whom so many have compassionated and so many more despised, truly have more nearly attained that end and aim, than the wise and great ones of the earth, to whom increase of knowledge and of worldly goods and honour have only brought increase of care. But should curiosity, or some higher motive, prompt the stranger to follow him home, and, carefully picking his way through the filthy narrow paths that cannot be called streets, peer into the interior of the mud hut—into the single apartment where his family and all his visible worldly goods are crowded, half

hidden by the smoke which fills the windowless den, without chimney or other aperture to admit light or air, save the open doorway—all his senses of sight, of smell, of hearing, of touch, of taste, will be equally revolted. Yet in huts like these do the great mass of the fellah population live, and propagate blear-eyed and unhealthy children, from generation to generation; secreting and hoarding what money they may earn, without any attempt or desire to improve a condition and style of life which would prove utterly unbearable and immeasurably wretched to any other agricultural class in the world. Yet the almost untold millions squandered by Egyptian rulers on works of vanity, and on useless expeditions for centuries past, have been extracted out of this apparently impoverished and half-starving population, and each year renews the ever-recurring miracle, to the astonishment of the rest of mankind.

Is it not time this tragi-comedy, which has in it far less of laughter than of tears, should be brought to a conclusion; and the curtain be allowed to fall on a redeemed and regenerated race—even though re-iding still in the old “house of bondage”?

CHAPTER XIII.

SCIONS OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF MEHEMET ALI.

The sons of Ismail, and other scions of the royal house, yet surviving—The sons of Abbas and of Saïd Pacha blasted in the bud—The sons of the Khedive—Mohamed Tewfik, heir presumptive—His brothers Hussein and Hassan—Characteristics of each—The younger sons—How the Khedive is educating his children—Their uncle Halim Pacha, formerly heir apparent under the old rule—His character—Description of how he hunted the gazelle with hawk and hound—Revival in Egypt of a mediæval sport—Halim's prospects.

THE sons of the Khedive have been most carefully trained and educated, and if they do not prove clever and useful men the fault is theirs, not his ; for neither expense nor care has been spared on their intellectual and physical development. European tutors have been furnished them from a very early age, who have indoctrinated them in the usual branches of a liberal education, including the languages of Europe, or at least a portion of them ; and the younger ones have also been sent to schools and universities in France, England, and Germany, to learn as much as it is possible to prevail on princes to acquire—moral suasion only being possible in such cases ; the more stringent methods adopted with "common people," of course, never being dreamed of where "blood royal" is concerned.

I believe the heir apparent, Prince Mohamed Tewfik, has never enjoyed the advantages of foreign travel, nor a foreign curriculum, but has been brought up and educated at home. Yet he does credit to his teachers, both as to mind and manners, being one of the most modest and at the same time one of the best-informed young men to be met with anywhere; universally respected as well as liked by foreigners as well as natives: though he shrinks from rather than courts observation or society. Whether this proceeds from native modesty or from policy, the position he occupies being a more delicate and difficult one in the East than elsewhere, I am not sufficiently intimate with him to say; but my impression, formed from my own opportunities of observation, was that the former cause had as much to do with it as the latter. Yet his modesty and retiring manner by no means indicate a lack either of will or of firmness; on the contrary, I should judge he was naturally obstinate, and very hard to move from the path he had selected, either by persuasion or threats. Less politic and plausible than his father, Prince Tewfik impresses you with belief in his sincerity, and that he means what he says—qualities which very clever men often are deficient in. He does not affect so much of the Western air and habits as do his father and two brothers, although he wears the Stambouli costume; and is reputed to be a conscientious though liberal Mussulman in creed and practice. His private character is above reproach. In the great whispering gallery of that Court, and of the Frank community at Cairo, I have never heard a whisper breathed against his domestic virtues or private character. In short, if I were asked to point out the model gentleman among the younger native generation at Cairo (in the higher

sense of that much-abused word), I should select Prince Tewfik as one of its most superior types ; although in the graces, and in the social circle, one of his brothers may surpass him.

Prince Tewfik is decidedly Oriental, both in face and figure ; of the Circassian type, with square head, heavy frame, dark eyes and hair, and with something solid and substantial stamped bodily and mentally upon him. Devoid apparently of some of the more shining qualities, slow and even hesitating in speech, and not affecting brilliancy or even smartness, his face, eye, and smile inspire confidence. You feel that here is a man whom you can trust.

He is the husband of but one wife, and reported to be very domestic in his habits and tastes. He is Minister of the Interior, and said to be an energetic and indefatigable public officer. Should it be his fate to mount the throne of Egypt, I predict that he will prove a prudent, humane, and sensible ruler, and do credit to himself and good to his people ; although I have seen such strange and sudden transformations take place in Egyptian princes after becoming viceroys, that my prediction is made with some hesitation.

The next eldest son is the Prince Hussein, at present Minister of Finance, *vice* the late Mouffetich, departed. He, in appearance, manners, and character, is the reverse of his elder brother. Slight and wiry of frame, with an active and springy step and quick movements, with sharp, shrewd features and restless eye, Prince Hussein is a man who impresses you as well fitted for intrigue ; with boldness enough to carry out what he had planned without regard to the consequences. He seems to have inherited

much of his father's restless spirit, without the caution which has ever accompanied it in his progenitor; and is certainly a quick, clever young man, though he does not impress you, with all his boldness, as being as open-hearted and sincere as his brother Tewfik. Although, I believe, he has never visited Europe, he is quite French in his dress and address, and figures in the quadrilles and even the waltz at the royal balls, with the grace of a practised man about town. In fact, he is quite French in appearance, and can rattle off *calembours* as fast as any *petit crève* of the boulevards. He is also said to be an extremely good business man, in so far as he is allowed to exert that ability—the Khedive being king and all the ministers echoes, since the death of the Mouffetich, the only one among them to whom he gave more than the shadow of power, after Nubar Pacha (who refused to be a shadow) got his *congé*. The young prince has no pleasant position, being compelled to act as a financial "buffer" between the irate creditors of the Government or the Khedive, and his father. The latter (who is by no means so visible nowadays as he used to be) is ingenious enough to put much of the burden of "to-morrow and to-morrow," sung to the creditors, on his son, whose nominal duties as Finance Minister are really performed by the foreign commissioners, Messrs. Romaine and De Malaret, one of whom receives, and the other of whom disburses, all of the hard cash to be collected in Egypt.

If Prince Hussein resembles a Frenchman, his brother Hassan, late Minister of War, and now in command of the Egyptian contingent in Turkey, is more like a German in appearance and address; his manner of pronouncing English, which he understands, having been some time at

Oxford University, being decidedly German. The same may be said of his manner, which is short and abrupt, though he has enjoyed greater advantages than his brothers. Of his capacity, either civil or military, he has as yet given no proofs. He may show the stuff he is made of, in his present position.

The mystery which still enshrouds the Abyssinian campaign, in which he participated, veils also the part he played therein, the accounts of which are very conflicting, and by no means confirmatory of the florid accounts given in the despatches of the Egyptian generalissimo, Ratib Pacha, who is generally believed to have imitated Falstaff more than Hotspur in his conduct of that most unfortunate and fruitless campaign. The prince has now an opportunity of winning his spurs if he pleases, for if he goes to the front he will have to show the mettle he is made of against the hereditary enemy of his race.

His duties as War Minister were chiefly nominal; the real management of that department, for the last six or seven years, having been in the hands of the American staff officers, at the head of whom is General Stone (now Stone Pacha Ferik), and General Loring (Loring Pacha Ferik), who has had a separate command at Alexandria, covering the protection of that place, and the line of sea-coast from Alexandria to Port Said.

These old and experienced soldiers, military men by early training and participation in bloody wars on the other side of the Atlantic, aided by a picked corps of younger officers, chiefly Americans, have brought the Egyptian army into a fine state of organization and discipline, and made the coast fortifications very strong and effective against any fleet or force seeking to invade

Egypt—a contingency happily not likely to occur during the present war, if the solemn assurances of Russian diplomacy are to be relied upon; but against which, nevertheless, the Khedive is and has long been preparing his troops and defences.

Three or four other younger sons of the Khedive are being as carefully trained and educated as their elder brothers. I believe most of the brethren are by different mothers, but the Khedive is certainly a good father, however miscellaneous his taste in the matter of mothers.

His daughters he has married chiefly to their cousins, richly endowing them all, and insisting that their husbands shall have no other legal wives—the Mussulman law allowing four at a time to all “true believers;” a privilege of which the Khedive has fully availed himself, and probably deprecates for his sons and sons-in-law, from the fruits of his own experience.

One of his daughters married Toussoun Pacha, the only son of his predecessor Saïd, to whom Ismail behaved well and generously, making him Minister of Public Instruction, and furnishing him liberally with lands and money. He died about a year ago, much regretted for his amiability and generosity of character, in which he resembled his father, without possessing his stronger qualities. The son of Abbas also died young at Constantinople. Mustafa, the Khedive's brother, who was set aside from the succession by the new firman from the Porte, is also dead, and his family were sent for to Constantinople, and treated in a most princely manner by the Khedive. But Halim Pacha, the younger son of Mehemet Ali and uncle to Ismail, still lives, and casts a shadow over the succession of Tewfik, to secure which his claims under the original

firman granted Mehemet Ali were set aside by the late Sultan Abdul-Aziz. Halim, like Mustafa, has been kept at Constantinople, where both were in high favour, and given high positions in the Government, as a rod in *terrorem* for the Khedive and his sons, should they prove refractory, or stint the supplies of backsheesh, which every "Commander of the Faithful" has an undying thirst for, unquenched and unquenchable by any millions however often repeated. How much of the gold extracted from the sweat and blood of Egypt, or from the pockets of the foreign creditor or bondholder, has passed into the capacious maw of the ogre at Constantinople during the last twelve years, while these two princes of the blood were held as hostages and rods at Stamboul, no one knows save one man, and he doubtless will never divulge it. But certain it is that many millions of pounds annually have been sent there, as sops to the Cerberus, for favours granted in return, or preservation of the *statu quo*.

Mustafa Pacha was a great political intriguer, and probably played his part in these proceedings; but the bold, frank character of Halim Pacha frees him from similar imputations. Personally he is one of the most remarkable men of his line, prolific as it ever has been of strong men and original ones.

Born of a Bedouin mother, the wife of Mehemet Ali's vigorous old age, Prince Halim partakes of the peculiarities of his mother's race, being originally spare and wiry in frame and muscle, lithe as a leopard, a hunter like Nimrod, a horseman unequalled even among his mother's centaur-like race, with quick flashing eyes and sharp features, dark eyes and hair, and Arab complexion. He has grown stouter and heavier since residing at Con-

stantinople, but his original type was such as I have described. He was an excellent French scholar, and a man of considerable culture, as well as vivacity; extremely hospitable, and fond of entertaining his Frank friends at his palace at the Shoubra Gardens, left him by his father as an inheritance, but which has now become the property of the Khedive, who has suffered the palace to fall into ruins, and the gardens to go to decay. Here Halim Pacha used to live and enjoy life, until quarrels between himself and the Khedive drove him out of Egypt, and caused him to sell out his property there to the Khedive, for which one of the outstanding loans was issued. I am not aware that Halim has, in any manner, formally renounced his pretensions to the Egyptian throne under the original firman; neither do I know whether he still cherishes hopes in that regard, for I have not seen him for many years past. He was in London recently for a short time, and it was then whispered that he might possibly have been sent or have come on a political mission, relative to the Egyptian succession. I imagine, however, that the general acquiescence of the Great Powers to the change of the succession, informal as it may have been, will prove a bar to the claims of Prince Halim, even should he strive to press them; and that the accession of Prince Tewfik is as safe as any political possibility can be.

Of the narrow escape of Prince Halim from death, through his own quickness and presence of mind, when his nephew Achmet was drowned in the Nile, I have already spoken; and shall conclude this sketch of him with a detail of the manner in which he used to practise his favourite sport, in chasing the gazelle with hawk and hound over the desert.

Although the fleetness of the Arab horse and Syrian greyhound are proverbial, and seem capable of outstripping anything but the wind, yet, fleet as are its pursuers, the gazelle is fleeter still; and hence the revival on these Eastern plains of the mediæval pastime and "joyous science" of hawking; bringing the children of the air in aid of hunter, horse, and hound, and assailing the helpless quarry from earth and sky at once.

It was a gay sight to see this Eastern knight on his fleet Arab courser, attended by a princely retinue of friends and followers (but "no lady fair," which Eastern etiquette forbade), sally forth at early dawn from his residence in the famed gardens of Shoubra, with hawk on fist, and the Syrian greyhounds in leash, led after him, only to be unleashed when the quarry was raised on the desert, a few miles distant.

Such used to be the favourite sport of Prince Halim's youth. He is now a middle-aged man, but a year younger than the Khedive, and they tell me he has grown stout and indolent in the enervating air of Constantinople.

But as the last surviving son of the great founder of the house that has ruled Egypt for the last half century, a certain interest attaches to him; to which the future of Egypt, dark with clouds, must add a keener edge. For the present it is the policy of the Great Powers to preserve the *statu quo* in Egypt, and to sanction the change of succession.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION IN EGYPT.

What the Khedive has done in educating his people—The public schools—Their chief inspector, Dor Bey—Information derived from him—Slight sketch of the character and purposes of the new schools, civil and military—The Polytechnic School at Abbassieh—The Missionary schools—Miss Whately's school, and the German—Education for women—A queen worthy of her place—The coming race of Egyptian women.

FULLY to relate all that the Khedive has done for education would require a volume instead of a chapter; for his efforts in this direction are worthy of all praise: so much has he already accomplished within the last six or eight years. A volume has been written on the subject, and published by the Government, prepared by Dor Bey,* the able controller and chief inspector of the public schools, giving full and accurate information and details on this most interesting topic. This gentleman was summoned by the Khedive from Switzerland, where he was performing similar functions, and is assisted in his duties by Mr. Rogers, formerly British consul at Cairo, but now in the Egyptian service.

From Mr. Dor's statements I shall merely extract a few of the most salient features of the new plan of regener-

* Since dead.

ating Egypt, by educating and enlightening the rising generation—a herculean task indeed, when the peculiarities of place and people are taken into consideration. The system is not to make education compulsory (which seems to me a mistake), and the advantages it offers have been confined thus far to the cities, and have not yet been generally extended into the country, where the rural population, who need it most, might avail themselves of the benefits of instruction, in something more than the Koran, free of cost. For the Arab child is remarkably bright and intelligent, and loves learning, when there is any possible chance of his acquiring it. Mehemet Ali made some attempt at such schools, as did also Abbas Pacha and Saïd ; but the merit of greatly enlarging and perfecting them undoubtedly belongs to Khedive Ismail, who has summoned able men from abroad to assist him in the good work.

At some of the schools I visited I was struck by the quickness of the boys, and their memories seemed surprising, as well as their genius for mathematics and arithmetic. Standing before a black board, with a piece of chalk, the pupils would write down, rapidly and correctly, sentences dictated to them in different languages. Men of all ages are admitted to prepare for teachers : some very mature ones I saw hard at work, grappling with school-boy tasks, with an iron gravity nothing could disturb. The colour of the pupils is as widely various as their types of face ; but I saw very few negroes among them.

Ophthalmia, the terrible scourge of Egypt, had left its mark on many of the boys ; but I was happy to hear that the virulence of this disease was abating under the new *régime*.

At the military training school at Abbassieh, where the number of pupils between the ages of sixteen and twenty was considerable, every possible appliance for instruction, both mental and bodily, was to be seen ; and some of the fencing I saw, both with foil and broad-sword, would have done credit to the professors of the art anywhere in Europe. Major Soliman Bey, an Egyptian educated at Paris and Metz, was at the head of the Polytechnic School of the Abbassieh, formerly the site of one of Abbas' desert palaces, near Cairo. Mr. Bourke, a gentleman of high culture and intelligence, was the English professor ; with two able professors of French and German as his colleagues.

One of the largest and most famous schools in the East, under Mohammedan auspices, has long been in operation at Cairo, at the mosque of El Akhsar ; but the course is chiefly if not entirely theological, comprising lessons from and instruction in the Koran. All the mosques also have schools attached to them, where squat the youthful Arabs shrieking out in Arabic at the top of their voices, all at the same time : and swinging to and fro as they shout, in chorus with their Arab instructor. These schools are not supported by Government endowment, but by the payment of a trifling sum from parents who can afford it. The Government, however, is helping these to better teachers, trained at its own normal schools, and the course of instruction is being enlarged.

The public schools are composed of primary and Government schools. The primary schools have a course which extends over four years, and all who like to come, of whatever race or religion, are freely admitted, either as boarders or day scholars. The boarders who are able to pay £26

per year ; those who can pay a part only do so ; the poor pay nothing. The same is the case with the day scholars.

The non-paying pupils however are subject to the call of the Government, which passes them on through the other schools, and prepares them for public service ; and many are made teachers in the primary schools, besides being trained as doctors, engineers, surveyors, etc. There are also preparatory schools midway between the two classes above referred to.

The Government schools (so called) are of a special character, such as for medicine, the higher mechanics, and a polytechnic school for training officers of the army. Although so recently established, they have already laid the foundations for an admirable local education, and for the improved standard of the next generation of Egyptian youth.

As an indication of educational progress, the recent rapid advance of the American missionary schools may be cited. For nine years under previous reigns, a small but untiring body of these men, domiciled in Egypt, strove to get pupils, and only succeeded on a most limited scale ; but their recent advance in this regard, within the last five years, has been wonderful. They are now erecting, opposite the old Shepherd's Hotel, an extensive edifice in stone, which will comprise a church in the centre and two wings, one for a male, and the other for a female college, capable each of containing several hundreds of students. The building, it is estimated, will cost £15,000 when completed, and will contain residences for the missionaries also.

From a statement made by these missionaries, they claim within the last twenty years to have "gathered a

community of 3000 souls; to have established fifteen churches, with an aggregate membership of 600; and to have sold and distributed over 10,000 volumes of religious books and tracts in 1874." Their centres of operation are at Alexandria, Cairo, Mansoura, taking three angles of the Delta; the Fayoum in Middle Egypt, and Assiout in Upper Egypt. They number seventeen missionaries (ten male and seven female), twelve native Evangelists, sixty-three native trained teachers, male and female, and a corps of native col-porteurs. They have in active operation eighteen boys' schools and nine for girls, some of them boarding-schools; attended by Moslem as well as native Christian children, whose parents now permit them to attend to receive the benefits of education, if not of religious training. The Khedive has liberally assisted this work. He has not only exchanged for their old mission site on the Mooskie a most valuable lot near Shepherd's Hotel, but added £7000 in cash, with which the building has been commenced, and donations from other sources have raised that sum to nearly £9000; so that he may, in fact, be considered one of the founders of these schools, which are intended to instruct the children of Moslems as well as Christians.

The English chapel is also approaching completion, but on a much smaller scale: and not combined with educational purposes. The Khedive also gave the lot for the erection of that building, and a large and valuable one it is. In religious toleration this Moslem prince sets an example to some well-known Christian rulers and statesmen, who make religious opinions a test of good citizenship, and who

“Fight like devils for conciliation,
And hate each other for the love of God.”

The indefatigable Miss Whately, daughter of the late Archbishop of Dublin, is devoting her life and energies to the work of educating the female fellahs, with a disinterestedness as rare as it is noble. Her school will be her monument, when her life and labours are over; for England can boast of few such women.

But the greatest innovation is the attempt to educate the native women which, under the auspices of one of the Khedive's wives, has been attempted on a considerable scale: and with very remarkable success thus far. Miss Whately and the American Missionaries had been making a similar attempt previously, but the natural dread of the ignorant and fanatical natives, that the religious faith of their children would be tampered with by Christian teachers, restricted the benefit of their efforts chiefly to the children, male and female, of the native Christians; and many of these, through jealousy of the foreign teachers, would not patronise these schools. But when the wife of the Khedive took the matter in hand, it was a very different thing; for royal patronage goes as far in Egypt, as in more enlightened countries. But two years have elapsed since the Khedive allowed his third wife (I think) to make use of one of his numerous palaces for the purpose, of which he approved; and after preparations for the reception and comfort of pupils, and engagement of a staff of teachers, the mothers in Egypt of every class were invited to send their daughters to be lodged, fed, clothed, and educated, free of charge. There was a little hesitation at first, so startling was the suggestion, so utterly opposed to all precedents and Oriental ideas, con-

cerning womankind and her duties here below. But though for three weeks after the opening day the benches were empty, within three or four months the 300 for whom there was accommodation had filled all the vacant space; and more than double that number were pressing their claims for admission. This work is indeed twice blessed—to her who gives and to those who receive—and I regret that I do not know and cannot commemorate the name of the princess, who is godmother to the first native female school in Egypt, instituted under native auspices, and endowed by native bounty.

Two years ago the Khedive (Ismail), in talking to me of his plans for the improvement of his people, spoke of his educational ideas in reference to the female children of his fellahs, who he proposed to substitute, in domestic duties of the household, as servants in place of the slaves; who, he declared, were more a necessity on account of the want of a class fitted, by training and intelligence, to take their places. "For," he said, "you know very well we have no such class here; but let the fellah girls be educated, and taught the duties of cleanliness and household virtues, and we can do away with the slaves, who are a great expense and a great nuisance."

The instruction in this school is based partly on this idea, and partly on preparations for playing the higher part of mistress of the household; for five days in the week are devoted to instruction in household duties and needlework, and but two to intellectual culture. The entire course covers a term of five years. The girls are of all castes, colours, religions, and races, even including negro slaves. French is the foreign language taught, and of course their own. The intelligence and quickness

of the girls is even greater than that of the male portion of the population. With education they will make good wives and mothers, as well as good household servants; and the name of the Egyptian queen who has instituted this great reform (which must and will prove as the first grain of mustard-seed with so imitative a people as the Arab), bids fair to go down to posterity burdened with the blessings of the male as well as the female portion of her people, who will enjoy the benefits and blessings of the reform she has so well and wisely begun.

CHAPTER XV.

MIXED JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS IN EGYPT.

Efforts of Sublime Porte, for twenty-five years to break down the doctrine of extritoriality in the Turkish dominions—What extritoriality means—Mixed tribunals attempted to be introduced, under “Hatti Houmaïon” of Sultan in 1856, and again tried by Egyptian Government in 1860—Why prevented by Consuls-general on those occasions.

THE idea of mixed judicial tribunals is a very old one, originating a quarter of a century ago in Turkey; the Ottoman Porte thus seeking to shake off the anomalous, and, as it regarded it, degrading claim of the Christian Powers to deny the jurisdiction of its courts, and what it termed justice, on behalf of their subjects; resting their right on the old capitulations, which ceded that privilege, on the ground of the incompatibility of their law, based on the Koran, to people of other nations and different faiths. Hence arose the doctrine of extritoriality, which simply signified the absence of local jurisdiction over the foreigner throughout the Ottoman dominions, and legal authority of their own diplomatic or consular agents over them, in all civil or criminal cases in which they might be defendants. For all cases in which they were plaintiffs, their representatives in the country, or on the spot, were bound to press upon the local Government

their claims or rights: and the practice grew up of submitting such mixed cases to the local tribunals, in the presence of the *chancelier* of the consulate, or submitting them to arbitration.

The Sublime Porte, in its windy proclamations issued from time to time, attempted to shake off this *imperium in imperio* of the foreign agents, which doubtless was sometimes pushed too far, sometimes abused; as will ever be the case when such great power is intrusted to men not always capable, or endowed with discretion or principle.

But, upon the whole, as far as my experience went, the system worked well, and insured speedy and substantial justice to foreign residents, in the absence of a better tribunal. As early as 1856, in the "Hatti Houmaïon" of the then Sultan, the substitution of mixed tribunals for the settlement of all difficulties between strangers and natives throughout the empire was decreed; and a copy of a firman sent to Egypt to be publicly read, that its provisions might be applied there, as elsewhere throughout the empire. On receiving it, Saïd Pacha shrugged his shoulders, and submitted it to the consuls-general, whose duties were diplomatic, the mere consular duties being attended to by the consuls and vice-consuls.

In a despatch to my Government, dated May 1st, 1856, the reasons that induced my colleagues and myself to refuse accepting this innovation were fully set forth. A few extracts from that document will suffice to show the justice of our refusal to countenance the change.

"With reference to the practical operation of the mixed tribunals proposed, an almost insuperable difficulty arises from the absence of a common language and a common sympathy between its constituent parts. Nine-

tenths of the rayahs speak or understand no language but their own, the Arabic. Each foreign nationality is ignorant of the language spoken or understood by the other, as a general rule; while for communication with the natives a jargon composed partly of lingua Franca, partly of Arabic, is most current. The Maltese subjects of Great Britain, of whom there are a great many here, and constantly in litigation, have actually invented a new language, understood only by themselves, composed of French, Italian, Spanish, and Arabic.

“Men who not only live apart, but are careful even to be buried apart, regarding close contact in life or death as contamination, could scarcely be coupled together or confer very harmoniously. Imagine a tribunal composed of several Moslems, two Christian Armenians, two Latin and two Greek Christians (every native Christian sect here bitterly hating the other), and add two Jewish Rabbis, and you would have a most striking illustration of “the happy family” in the museums, composed of the most uncongenial animals possibly to be found. It would certainly require a liberal use of the most common instrument in the administration of Eastern justice, the *kourbash* (whip), to prevent them from throttling each other.”

The indifference of Saïd Pacha, and the active opposition of the consuls-general to any change, quashed the project for a time. But, four years later, the idea was revived, and a determined effort made, with the support of a portion of the consular corps, to compel the introduction of mixed tribunals, on the Constantinople plan, into Egypt. This attempt was also frustrated, by the refusal of several of my colleagues and myself to consent to such a change on, as we believed, good and sufficient grounds.

One of my colleagues concurring with me was the Sardinian, the list of whose consulate numbered 10,000 persons. The scheme was dropped.

The initiation of the existing judicial tribunals is due to Nubar Pacha, who for seven years laboured indefatigably with the foreign Powers and the Khedive to remove difficulties. In 1868 he laid down the basis of his project, in many respects widely differing from that which has been finally adopted, in a formal "Note to his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt on the Future Regulation of the Legal and Judicial Relations between the Foreign and Native Population of Egypt"—covering a report from M. Manoury, of the bar of Paris, on the same subject.

From a statement of the ideas and purposes of Nubar Pacha, it is evident, on comparing what he planned and what he achieved, that the Khedive and the Great Powers treated him as Homer's Jupiter treated the prayers of mortals—"one-half they granted, the rest dismissed into empty air." His plan was to curb at once the absolute power of the Khedive, and restrict the authority of the consuls-general, by establishing tribunals which should overrule the arbitrary decisions of both. At the same time his purpose was to give the controlling voice to the Egyptian element, and to extend their jurisdiction over the native as well as over the European population throughout the whole country.

As the tribunals are now constituted they are international tribunals only, with jurisdiction exclusively civil (extending only to criminal offences committed against their members), and not having jurisdiction over the five and a half millions of natives, who are still subject to the

old Egyptian judges and the old system which has the Koran as its basis.

His avowed object was to make the system of general application; and while giving the European element a voice, to keep the control in Egyptian hands, but in educated and legal ones. The consular authority died hard; it reserved its criminal jurisdiction, and even its consular courts in certain cases, and claimed a controlling voice for its substitutes in the courts. The Khedive, ceding the mixed jurisdiction, has taken no steps to divest himself and his courts of absolute control over the native population, either in civil or criminal cases, in which no European interest is involved. Whether the consummation sought by Nubar will ever be reached, depends greatly on the success of the experiment now being made on a limited scale, which might induce an expansion of its attributes and authority, in the creation of native courts founded upon a somewhat similar basis.

There are good lawyers and clever men on the existing courts, and they are honestly striving to remove the great impediments which obstruct their usefulness and their most strenuous efforts.

The pay of the judges I do not regard as exorbitant, under the circumstances; but costs and expenses of litigation are too great. Yet, even with the very heavy costs, the sum thus far gathered in, as I understand, has proved inadequate to relieve the Government from one-half of the expense of the very cumbrous machinery employed in working the new establishment. As the courts are organized on the French plan, there is a small army of subordinate officers attached to them; and if the whole affair could be simplified—reduced in numbers and expense—I

believe it would prove more manageable, and more in consonance with the wants and wishes of the parties chiefly concerned, namely, the tax-payers, the litigants, and the Khedive.

No machine so complicated and so entirely novel, both in construction and purpose, can be expected to approach perfection at the outset; and I venture, with hesitation, to make these suggestions, without impugning either the utility of the tribunals, within a certain scope, or the propriety and fitness of the selections made for their higher posts; the judges having been appointed upon the recommendation of their respective Governments, who, and not the Khedive, must be held responsible for their selection. Doubtless, as the members of the tribunal warm to their work, and learn more of the exceptional country to which they have been called, as well as gain a mastery over the Babel of tongues prevailing there, the machine may act more smoothly and efficiently than it has hitherto done.

CHAPTER XVI.

EGYPTIAN FINANCE AND RESOURCES.

Absorbing interest felt therein—The doctors disagreeing—State of the patient in the eyes of a non-professional—A plain statement as to amounts actually received from foreign loans by the Khedive—What did he do with it?—Testimony of the *Times* partly exculpatory of the Khedive—Curious and instructive letter from a native Egyptian official, translated from the French—His statements of resources, and suggestions for their increase—A few facts and figures.

It would seem strange that a book devoted to Egypt should make no mention of Egyptian finance, a matter which has probably attracted more attention, and created more painful interest in the minds of foreigners, towards the country and its rulers, than all M. Mariette's truly remarkable discoveries among the *débris* of its ancient and forgotten ruins; or the equally wonderful spectacle of an Eastern prince playing the rôle of reformer and regenerator of his public farm, for such Egypt had been to his family; the only previous efforts having been directed to the increase of its agricultural products, and the ways and means of increased taxation.

Where the most eminent financiers of all countries have been called into consultation, and have proffered their panaceas, it would be presumptuous indeed in one

whose mind has been engrossed, and whose life has been spent, in other duties, dogmatically to pronounce either on the symptoms or the condition of the patient, over which these most learned doctors have only "agreed to disagree."

I shall, therefore, on this topic briefly cite the opinions of those who are best qualified to pass judgment, both as to the disease, the remedy, and the actual state and prospects of the patient, who I have never believed to be half "the sick man" his cousin at Constantinople long has been, and who, under proper treatment, and the exercise of forbearance on the part of his dry-nurses, can and ought to be restored to even more than his pristine vigour, if time only be given for the cure, and undue pressure be not put upon him in his present shaky condition.

And firstly, as to the amounts received and squandered, or invested in public works as yet unproductive—have they really amounted to the very large figure, rising to almost £100,000,000, for which the Khedive and his country are debited by the foreign accountants, and his own admissions? It is safe to say that not one-half of this amount has the Khedive ever netted out of his various loans, and that the outside dead loss to the foreign investor—chiefly English and French—supposing the Egyptian Government absolutely bankrupt, excluding the funding loans and floating debt, would not exceed from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000.

But recent experiments, under Mr. Goschen's scheme, have proved that the country is by no means bankrupt, and is astonishing everybody, even those who thought they best understood the limits of her resources, by

meeting the enormous payments due in January and July, under the most stringent and onerous conditions ever imposed by creditor on debtor; and, crucial fact of all, that the Khedive has acted in perfect good faith towards his foreign commissioners of the *Caisses* for receipt and disbursement of the public funds; doing more instead of less than he was called upon to do.

For the statement I have made as to the actual receipts and expenditures, for public benefit, from the loans originally made by the Khedive, I quote from the money article of the *London Times* of 19th May, 1876, the following pregnant admissions; the more weighty because that journal is not disposed to take a rose-coloured view, either of the Khedive, or of Egyptian finance for some time past; Turkish default having thrown its shadow over the tributary, as well as the chief sinner, in the *Times*' appreciation. The *Times* says:—

“According to the statement of Mr. Cave's report, the Khedive has only netted some £45,000,000 on all the existing loans, State and private, which have been floated for him, and out of that he has paid back, including the last April coupon, over £31,000,000. Of the remainder, some £10,000,000 went to defray costs connected with the Suez Canal and the unjust awards of Napoleon III. connected with it; so that but a minute sum remains which the Khedive could by any possibility have spent on improving his country. He can hardly have thus spent even that minute sum, because it would be needed for commissions, discounts, and market operations and for the ‘service’ of the debt. Therefore we have the huge floating debt as the sort of lumber-room into which the costs of all his extravagances have been flung. The floating

debts cannot reasonably be viewed as an investor's loss at all, and excluding these, as well as part of the Turkish fives, and of later funding loans of both Turkey and Egypt, we believe a sum of £20,000,000 to £25,000,000 may safely be taken as the outside dead loss of the investing public, not more than half of which would fall on this country, supposing the Turkish and Egyptian Governments to fail absolutely."

In a very remarkable letter, addressed to the *Times* from Paris, and published in French in that journal under date of 19th May, a clear and rapid *résumé* of the actual financial condition of Egypt, is given by an "ex-Egyptian official then in that capital," who it was supposed could be none other than Nubar Pacha, the former Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs, whose knowledge and honesty no one could doubt. I translate the closing portion of his letter, which gives, in a nutshell, the resources from which Egypt proposes to meet her obligations, as I never saw them so briefly, clearly, and intelligibly stated elsewhere:—

"..... Having shown the efficacy of the control established by the appointment of the foreign commissioners, it remains only to examine the financial side of this decree. Can Egypt pay the interest she promises, and, at the same time, meet the actual wants of her internal administration? My answer is in the affirmative. I entertain no doubts on the subject. I adopt even the figures of Mr. Cave. According to Mr. Cave's report, the annual revenues of Egypt are £10,500,000. He is right in these figures, but he comprises in this estimate the proceeds of the Moukabaleh, which amount to £1,500,000 annually; but as this is only a temporary tax, without it

the regular revenues of Egypt would amount to £9,000,000. Yet were the Moukabaleh suspended, it follows that those who have paid but half the tax must also then pay the other half, which equalizes it, and restores the permanent revenue to £10,500,000.

“But you know that in Egypt there are two kinds of taxable lands, viz., the ‘*Kharadgis*’ (under lease), and the ‘*Euchuris*’ (tithe lands). The latter of these enjoy special privileges, and are not taxed to one-half the extent of the other. This certainly is not just, and the Government may well raise the rate of taxation in the latter case, so as to equalize the two.

“Now, as these privileged lands represent 1,300,000 feddans (acres), an additional tax of half a guinea on each acre, which would only raise the tax to the standard of the other lands, would give an immediate augmentation of yearly revenue to the amount of £650,000. You also are aware that the European residents in the country pay no taxes. This enormity naturally must disappear, since the new tribunals have given them all necessary guarantees for their security. A tax of £1 10s. on each European (of whom there are 150,000 in Egypt) would augment the revenues £225,000, which, with that previously mentioned, would add £875,000 to the £10,500,000 estimated by Mr. Cave, making a total of £11,300,000.

“Granting that Mr. Cave has over-calculated by more than a million of pounds, even a million and a half, and we should have at least £9,700,000 and the interest of the debt defrayed, there would remain for the service of the State £400,000. But our actual administration never fairly costs this sum.

These are our true expenses, viz. :

For all the public administrations, except the army	..	£1,300,000
The tribute for Constantinople.. ..	..	700,000
Civil list of the Khedive .. ..	..	600,000
Leaving for the army .. ..	..	1,400,000
		<u>£4,000,000</u>

"But, in fact, the army only figures in the Budget for £700,000 ; hence the surplus of £700,000 must pass somewhere outside of the Budget.

"Should, however, the taxation and the receipts not reach the sum necessary for the payment of the interest on the public debt, have not the bondholders the right to say to the Khedive that he must sooner diminish his army expenses than their payments? Have they not the right to say this enormous army is the ruin of the country? Have they not the right to say to him that his civil list is six times as large as that of the Emperor Napoleon (the relative size of the two countries considered), and that, as proprietor of a fifth of the soil of Egypt, it would be but just for him to diminish by £200,000 or £300,000 his civil list, that his creditors might be paid?"

Owing to the anomalous attitude occupied by the Khedive towards his own Government and to the foreign creditor, arising from his double character as ruler of the country and private planter and trader, it has been found most difficult to separate his public and private indebtedness from each other, or to define the limits which bound one from the other. Hence all the European financiers, in their successive reports, have drawn a line between the two, in as far as they were able ; although the affairs and obligations of the private Daira and the public debt seemed to be twined as closely together as the ivy to the oak.

According to Mr. Cave's carefully prepared report, the Egyptian Budget for 1876 showed the receipts to be £10,772,611, and the expenditure £8,981,852, leaving a surplus of £1,790,759. As to the liabilities on the Daira or Khedive's private estate, the loan of 1870 showed that the unpaid capital is £6,032,620, and the floating debt £3,000,000. The present revenue of Egypt is arrived at under three heads—land-tax, £4,305,131; Moukabaleh, £1,531,118; other sources of revenue, £4,852,821; making a total of £10,689,070. As to the growth of the trade of Egypt under the rule of the Khedive, it is, to say the least of it, in the highest degree encouraging. In the thirteen years which elapsed from 1849–50 to 1861–2 inclusive, the exports rose from £2,043,579 to £4,454,425. The year 1862–3, the first year of the Khedive, began with a sudden bound to £9,014,277, and increased in the following year to £14,416,661. In 1865 the exports fell, but only to £9,723,564; they have never since been less than £8,000,000. Mr. Cave's report demonstrates as plainly as possible the fact of Egypt's solvency, should her finances be properly collected and administered, although in the judgment of those who ought to know the country best, she cannot afford to pay her creditors or tax her people at the rate of the existing arrangement, devised by Messrs. Goschen and Joubert, and thus far carried out with unexpected good faith and more than ordinary zeal by the Khedive himself, who—in justice it must be said—has from the first protested against the ability of the country long to sustain such heavy impositions, or so terrible a drain on its resources and productions, as this scheme involves.

Without professing any superior knowledge of finance,

or even equal skill in that science (if such it may be called), to the many distinguished gentlemen who have ciphered up the Egyptian sum, I cannot forbear expressing my crude opinion that Mr. Cave was wise, when he urged that five per cent. was the maximum of interest Egypt could then afford to pay her creditors at that time: since which her liabilities have so greatly increased, and her resources been so greatly diminished, that even that might now be difficult to meet, without more and greater sacrifices than that impoverished people are now making, and which it is impossible they can continue to make much longer; for flesh and blood cannot stand them.

My judgment is based partly on the exhaustive reports of Mr. Cave, partly on my own intimate knowledge of the country and its resources for the last twenty years, which confirms in all important particulars the correctness of Mr. Cave's facts and figures, and the deductions drawn therefrom.

Since the world began, was there ever a population of the number of the Egyptian, from which taxation to such an enormous amount was annually wrung (even for a single year, much less for a series of years), increasing instead of diminishing, as the resources of the country became less and less, through the diminishing prices of their produce; grain alone, owing to mere temporary causes, having kept up in price, while cotton has ceased almost to pay the cost of production (if it does even that), and the number of hands employed in cultivation has been greatly diminished by causes already stated?

Roughly stated, *five millions and a half of Egyptian fellahs pay, in direct and indirect taxes, (besides extraordinary calls, such as war-tax and private pickings) a total*

of near SEVEN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING per annum. To which must be added near a million more for what are termed "local revenues, taxes, and dues," embracing municipal taxes, canal, bridge, port, and other dues; and for the Moukabaleh (or anticipated land-tax) one and a half million more; swelling up the total of taxation £2 per head all over Egypt. These figures I have adopted from Mr. Goschen's statement, the items of which I append; but in two items, the actual tax levied on land and that on date trees, the amount is understated very considerably.

When Sydney Smith drew his famous picture of British taxation at the commencement of the present century, and showed how his countrymen, from the cradle to the grave, were the prey of the tax-gatherers, causing the great mass of those impositions to be removed, in the wildest flights of his fertile fancy he never soared to the naked realities of Egyptian taxation, as it is imposed and forcibly collected to-day, under European sanction.

CHAPTER XVII.

EGYPTIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS.

The social life of Egypt—Native society unchanged—The ladies of the hareem, and their adoption of French millinery—The root of the evil—A royal wedding party in a Khedivial hareem described—The Khedive's entertainments—His breakfasts, dinners, and *soirées dansantes* at Ab-din.

THE social life of Egypt has undergone no apparent change, in so far as the great bulk of the native population is concerned. High and low, rich and poor, they still shrink from social contact with the foreigner, outside of the narrow circle of the court and its immediate members or *employés*. It is evident that just so long as the present system continues to be the law of the lives of this people, this must continue to be the case. The isolation of woman from general society involves the isolation also of man, whose hearth and home are in the hareem, where none but he may come. The cold civility of the *selamlik* (or man's apartment), where alone he may receive his guests or friends, prevents familiarity or friendship, either with the foreigner or native; since into the charmed circle of the real home-life he is not allowed to enter.

It is true that the women of the hareem, especially of the higher class (which is very small in Egypt), have

adopted for themselves and slaves the fashions and fabrics of France, discarding their own more picturesque ones; that instead of shuffling over the floor in slippers without heels, they now totter insecurely on the stilts of those hideous French boots, which make our modern belles as helpless and as tortured as the Chinese; and that some favoured ladies of the hareem have imbibed a sufficient smattering of French language and tastes to listen, half asleep, to the indecencies of Offenbach's opera bouffe; or stare with wide-awake eyes at the posturings and pirouettes of the imported ballet troupe, which outstrips and outrivals their own native *almehs* in agility and indecency. Yet even this chosen few still listen to, or view these things from a carefully curtained stage-box, where they can see and hear without being visible to the rest of the audience. A sudden flash of light from jewels, or bright eyes, through a rent in the envious curtain concealing these fair ones, gives the only indication of their presence at the opera or theatre, where alone they are allowed even this partial privilege of semi-publicity.

Ninety-nine hundredths of the Egyptian women, however, still adhere to their old habits and customs, and no woman of good character in Egypt has yet dared to appear abroad without her concealing veil or *yashmak*, or recognize or speak to any man in public or in private, except her husband or father.

The wave of progress and of civilization, which has swept away from the Khedive's court almost all the old forms and usages, until it approximates to those of Europe, has dashed in vain up to the hareem doors; whence it has been driven back in shattered spray, but could gain no admission. The Eastern lady or woman may put on

Worth's finery, and clothe her attendants in "Frank" dress; but there all similarity to her Western sister ends.

She is unchanged in her thoughts and habits, morals, and daily life. Until the slavery of the hareem is abolished, there can be no hope of the abolition of the domestic slavery it nourishes and perpetuates, as a necessary essential to its own continued existence. The Khedive enunciated a great truth in his reply to the deputation at Paris, already cited, when he boldly probed this tender point; and those who have known the East longest and best, look almost with despair on the prospect of any real change in the position of woman there, so long as Islam, and polygamy (which is its offspring), are the laws of life to the female population.

But the external changes in hareem life, since the time when Lady Mary Wortley Montague wrote her inimitable letters from behind the hareem veil in Turkey, have been considerable; as foreign women, who have visited them twelve years ago, and recently, loudly declare. The complaint now made is that much of the glory has departed from the higher hareems, in consequence of these fair inmates having discarded their Oriental dress and usages, in the efforts to substitute "Frank" apparel and furniture for them; with the result ever accompanying half-way imitation.

Hence it may not be amiss, before the vanishing point has been reached, to give here a description of an old-fashioned bridal reception in one of the royal hareems, but three or four years since, on the occasion of a series of royal nuptials, in which the Khedive's sons and one of his daughters figured as the principal performers. As a matter of course, I cannot pretend to describe this

festival as an eye-witness; but I have to thank a fair friend, who, as the wife of a high foreign officer in the Khedive's service, attended it, for the particulars. I cannot but regret, however, that I cannot reproduce her vivid account of the fairy-like scene, which has been marred in this attempt at repetition.

The *fête* specially described was given in special honour of the Princess Fatmeh Ahnem, the Khedive's eldest daughter, on the occasion of her marriage to Prince Toussoun Pacha (since deceased), at the queen-mother's palace at Cairo.

On leaving their carriages, the ladies who had been invited to the festival passed, first through an extensive garden, which was lighted *à giorno* by countless lamps of many colours, and following a marble-paved walk, boarded on either side with trees and rare plants, they reached the entrance of the palace, where eunuchs were waiting to lead them into a large and richly furnished saloon. There they found the white female slaves of the harem, half of whom were clad as men, and all in the most magnificent Eastern costumes. These slaves acted as ushers. Some were plainly dressed, carrying drawn swords in their hands, and having red tarbouches on their heads; whilst others were attired in splendid military uniforms; and my fair informant adds, that they presented a very martial-looking appearance—not a bad imitation of the genuine article. Having taken charge of the guests, they conducted them to a second saloon, where, for the amusement (and possible edification) of the visitors, dances were executed by the native *almehs* (dancing girls), to the music of their own castanets, and an orchestra composed of female performers. In other

apartments other slaves performed a sort of ballet, with long wands, swords, and bucklers; but in this room only native dances were executed.

The guests passed thence through a series of apartments or long halls, in which all manner of refreshments were served. There, according to nationality or taste, each was served either in Eastern or Western style, with things substantial or sweet; and with those wonderful coloured drinks or sherbets, which are made of fruit, that Oriental hands alone know how to compose.

The princesses of the royal family presided over one table, which was reserved for the Pacha's wives and those of the foreign consuls and other distinguished foreigners; and in these apartments, as in the others, the sound of music and song was unceasing.

Refreshments partaken of, the guests were next presented to the queen-mother, who received them in a vast saloon, magnificently furnished, capable of accommodating thousands of persons. The visitors were preceded by the armed female slaves, and each formally presented by name and title by the European lady-in-waiting. The presentations concluded, the guests were shown to their seats—divans ranged along the walls and covered with rich silks—whence they looked on at the dancing and singing of professionals engaged for that purpose. The performance concluded, the dancers received rich gifts of jewellery and cashmere shawls, as a reward for their exertions; the wife of each bey or other dignitary invited to the *fête* having brought her present. At a sign from the queen-mother, the distribution of these gifts commenced, and as each was bestowed the name of the donor was announced, and a chorus of thanks returned by the recipients.

This ceremony at an end, the bride made her appearance in the following manner. The eunuchs of the households of the Egyptian ladies formed ; from the foot of the staircase up the steps and to the door of the saloon, where the queen-mother sat, a long line, each man holding a candelabra, in which were many long wax candles of different colours. Through this avenue of bronze the bride passed, treading all the while on cloth of gold—no less costly carpet being considered worthy to receive her royal footprint. Dancing girls, dressed in the bride's livery, preceded her ; their costumes composed of silver gauze ornaments, with orange-flowers and splendid diamonds. Then came the bride, surrounded by her own women, followed by her mother and princesses of the blood, and another troop of dancing-girls. Next came the princess herself, moving slowly, with eyes cast down, and stopping a little at each step, as though to afford time for examination and admiration.

The guests stood up as the princess advanced ; and as she passed along, girls, who were stationed on raised chairs behind the visitors, showered on them from baskets a quantity of small gold coins, struck off expressly for the purpose ; many of which, falling on the head or garments of the guests, lodged in their hair or dress. My informant, on disrobing at night, found £3 or £4 worth in value of those pretty keepsakes. The native ladies, who were aware of this Eastern custom, had doubtless had their hair and garments prepared, so as to catch as much of the golden shower as possible. The magnificent saloon, draped in white satin and gold, ornamented with orange blossoms and roses, and blazing with innumerable lights—the dazzling brilliancy of the dresses and ornaments of the bride and her attendants—formed a spectacle of

splendour worthy of the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," and such as cannot ever be witnessed in our Western and more prosaic climes.

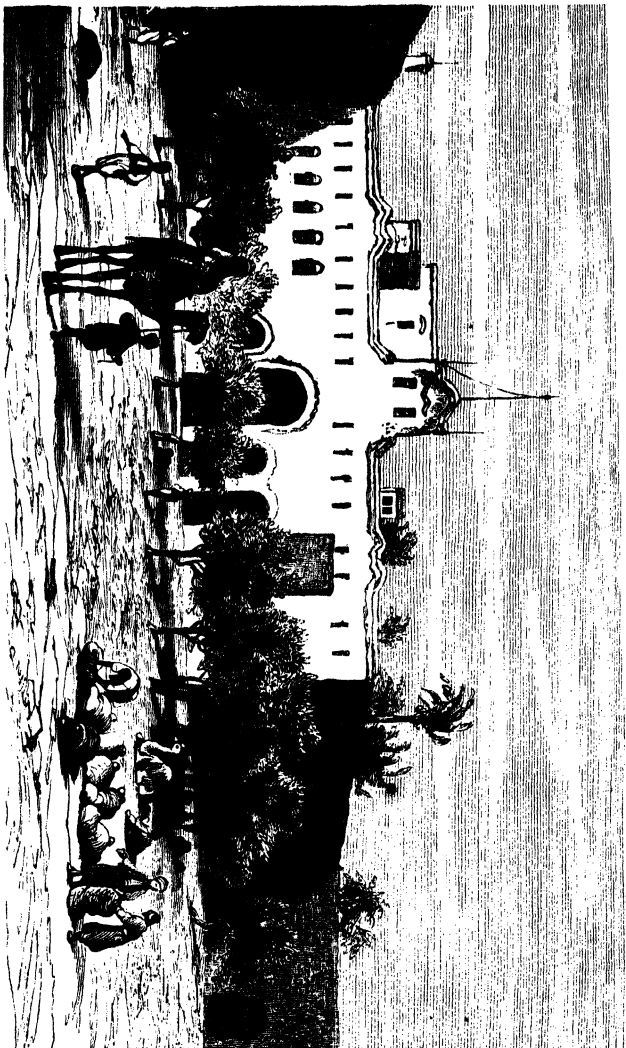
Three large chairs, covered with white satin, were placed on a raised dais, and on these sat the queen-mother, the bride, and the mother of the bride. Worth, the famous man-milliner, was probably the maker of the bridal-dress, which for execution was a marvel, and, apart from certain exaggerations, thoroughly Parisian in taste. It consisted of skirt, bodice, and train of the very richest white satin, and a tunic of the finest point lace. The train, five mètres in length, was carried by white slaves, who were richly attired. The bodice was entirely covered, and the tunic looped, with splendid diamond ornaments; and on her head the bride wore a magnificent diadem, also of diamonds. So arrayed, she might indeed be a fortune in herself, the value of her costume being something fabulous. Having received the felicitations of the royal and distinguished guests, she after a short time withdrew; returning to her own apartments with the same state and ceremonies as when she entered. The pageant over, the visitors descended to the first saloon, where refreshments again awaited them; and the ceremony concluded, they left the palace.

But I fear I am treading on delicate ground, in thus peeping (even by proxy) behind the hareem curtains; and, mindful of the fate of "Peeping Tom of Coventry," return to the more orthodox treatment of Khedivial hospitalities, which are fast and frequent during "the season" at Cairo.

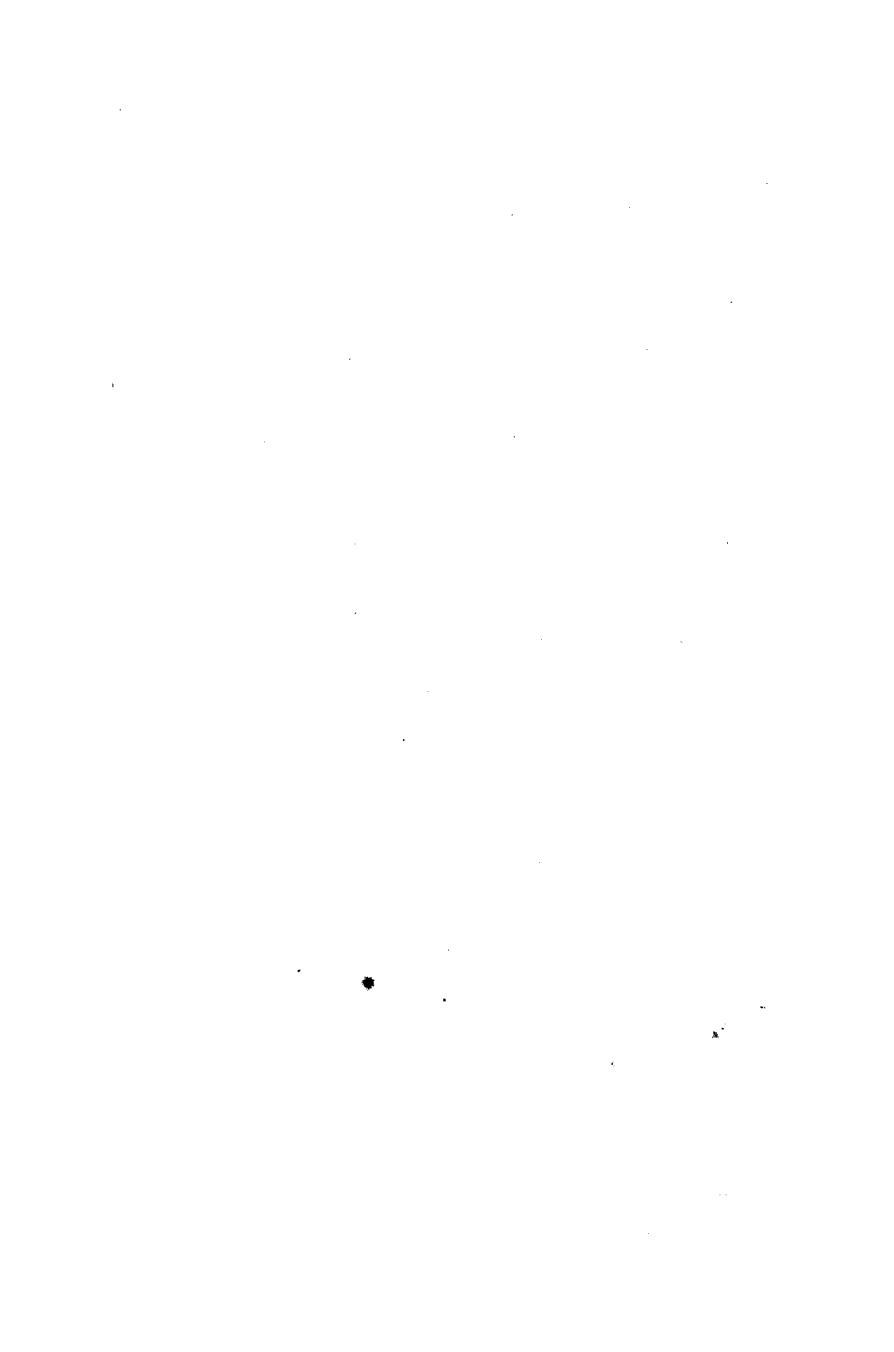
The Khedive's entertainments comprise breakfasts, *déjeuners à la fourchette* at 12 A.M. (dinners in all but

name); a formal dinner at 7 P.M.; *soirées musicales et dansantes*, to which ladies are invited; and open-air entertainments, with pigeon-shooting, etc., to which ladies also are invited, given in the gardens of the Ghezireh Palace.

His breakfasts and dinners are altogether *à la Française*, with an enormous display of plate; the letter "I" in gold, surmounted by a crown, being the only *chiffre* on the glasses, which have only a slight gilt rim, otherwise plain. Both the porcelain and crystal, and in fact the whole service, are in excellent taste. The native officials present at these entertainments are dressed and eat in European fashion. The wines are abundant, and of superior quality. The Khedive's "particular vanity," as Mr. Stiggins would say, seems to be Château Y'quem, though he is not disdainful of champagne on festive occasions. His balls and *soirees* (of which he usually gives several during the season), to which formal invitations are ordered by the chamberlains, may merit a short description, the place and persons figuring at them being considered.



SQUARE OF MUDDIRIH AT KHARTOUM.



CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SOUDAN.

What and where is the Soudan?—Its first annexation to Egypt—Conquest and occupation by Mehemet Ali—His visit there—Establishes Khartoum as its capital—Abbas Pacha's treatment of it—Saïd Pacha's visit—His proclamations—Attempts to connect it with Cairo by rail and river.

THE Khedive has been loudly denounced in Europe, for an insane ambition, in extending his explorations and annexations into Central Africa, and most loudly by those who know least about the matter; who counting only the cost in cash expended, and the net results thus far obtained, consider his projects in that direction as no better than idle dreams. Yet the Khedive did not create, but inherited these outlying provinces, to which indeed he has annexed others, and sought to annex more; but his main purpose has been to make these dependencies of Egypt pay.

Hence it may not be out of place, in this book, briefly to sketch the origin and the peculiarities of these Egyptian acquisitions, from the time of Mehemet Ali, their first acquirer; as well as what has been done, or sought to be done, by successive viceroys in the Soudan; which still, to most people, is nothing more than a mere "geographical expression."

The annexation of the provinces, constituting what is termed the Soudan, dates back more than half a century. After the destruction of the scattered relics of the Mamelukes in Dongola, and the defeat of the Arab sheiks, Mehemet Ali, thus master of Nubia, ordered an exploratory survey of the provinces of Sennaar and Kordofan, and the countries remote from the two Niles, the White and Blue. This task he confided to Ibrahim and Ismail Pachas, giving each a large force. One expeditionary corps subjugated the country to the east as far as Fazougli, on the Blue Nile; the other pushed on to the subjugation of the people bordering on the White Nile. They had hoped to acquire much gold, which was reported there in large quantities, but found but little; and the washing of the river sands produced even less. Nevertheless they brought back many slaves, and reduced Sennaar, and the tribes residing near the river, to Egyptian sway.

In 1839 Mehemet Ali in person visited his new acquisition, going as far as Fazougli—afterwards made an African Cayenne; banishment to which, in the days of Abbas, was considered equivalent to a death-warrant.

Mehemet Ali established the capital of the Soudan at Khartoum, declared the navigation of the White Nile free, established military posts on both rivers, encouraged adventurous men of science to explore the country, and sought to introduce commercial ideas, and civilization, into the minds of the negroes of Central Africa.

But his good intentions were frustrated by the perfidy and cupidity of those intrusted with their execution. The unfortunate negroes were made the objects of chase and of commerce by the slave-traders, and Khartoum

became a slave-market. The consequence was that the natives rebelled, and were only held in check by military force; and the taxes required a small army to collect them.

"Such," says Dr. Abbate, who visited the country in 1857, in the suite of Saïd Pacha, "was the condition of the Soudan, when Saïd Pacha mounted the throne of Egypt. Agriculture almost abandoned, taxes out of all proportion to production or means, extortioners everywhere; the receipts of the Government barely sufficient to meet the expenses of supporting its authority, by reason of the military establishment which was essential; general disorder in the administration; an open slave-trade, almost as openly protected by those in authority on the spot."

Shocked at this state of the provinces, of which some rumours had reached him, Saïd Pacha, seized with one of his generous impulses, determined to go in person to right matters in the Soudan; and as with him to resolve was to act, carried the design promptly into execution.

Early in the year 1857, Saïd Pacha carried out his design, and made a rapid tour through the Soudan; leaving Cairo 27th November, and arriving at Khartoum 10th February of the next year, making the trip in about two months and a half. An army of 5000 men, fully armed and equipped, with baggage waggons, accompanied him half the way: so that it was supposed he meditated more annexations in that direction; but he changed his plan, and fearlessly went on without them. Arriving at Berber, he summoned the chief men, and ordered them to meet him at Khartoum; he then verbally *announced the abolition of slavery, withdrew his garrison from the town*, and left the province under the guardianship of the governor.

He then proceeded over the desert by Korosko to Khartoum, where he also summoned the notables of that neighbourhood; and in four remarkable "orders," addressed to the new governors, appointed by him over the five provinces of the Soudan—Sennaar, Kordofan, Taka, Berber, and Dongola—dated Khartoum, 26th January, 1857, laid down a charter of rights, and definition of their duties towards the Egyptian Government, characterized equally by liberality, justice, and wisdom,—by which, to use his own words, he sought "to insure the prosperity of the people, to improve their condition, relieve them from unjust burdens and abuses of those in authority, and at the same time point out their duties to them."

"When," says this generous viceroy, "visiting my provinces of the Soudan, I have seen the wretchedness into which the population has been plunged, by excessive impositions on their lands and *sakkias* (water-wheels), and especially their sufferings under the *corvées* (compulsory labour) and unjust taxes, I at once decided that justice demanded the abandonment of such a system, and that henceforward taxation should be apportioned to the means of the tax-payers; so that all apprehensions might be calmed, the country prosper, and no reason longer exist either for complaint, or expatriation on the part of its inhabitants.

"It is also a matter of urgent necessity, as well as my earnest wish, that regular and speedy communication should exist between the Soudan and my capital. You must therefore at once organize a postal service by dromedaries across the desert"—going on to give specific directions as to how it should be done. These admirable "orders" conclude with a promise, that if succour be

needed from Cairo, from invading enemies, they might rely upon it when they called; and that if the inhabitants had good reason to complain of the governors, or the sheikhs subordinate to them, "no guilty man should escape punishment."

Having performed these acts of justice and good administration with his usual impetuosity, Saïd Pacha returned to Cairo; and this, probably the most disinterested and patriotic act of his short life, and shorter reign, has left not even an echo behind it, either in Egypt or in Europe.*

Saïd Pacha also conceived the project of uniting his provinces to the central seat of his power, by railway or canal; and detached the French engineer, Mougel Bey, famous for his connection with the barrage and Suez Canal, to examine the best means of doing so; and also sent surveying parties to examine the possibility of removing the obstructions in the Higher Nile, but was deterred by the expense of these undertakings.

The idea was then abandoned, but in 1865-66 the present Khedive revived it; and a general study of the country, with a view to a railway, was made between Assouan and Khartoum by Mr. Walker and Mr. Bray; but little came of it.

In 1865 Mr. Hawkshaw, the eminent engineer, was consulted by the Khedive as to the canalization of the first cataract, and recommended the prosecution of that work.

* For the particulars of Saïd Pacha's visit to the Soudan, I am indebted to the instructive and able account of it by Dr. Abbate, of Cairo, an eminent physician and man of science, who was attached to the viceroy's suite during the expedition. His "Notes" of the tour (published by Plon, of Paris, in 1858) will richly repay perusal.

Some years later, early in the year 1871, the Khedive called on the well-known English engineer, Mr. John Fowler, who had become Consulting Engineer in-Chief in the Egyptian service, to make detailed surveys and estimates, and report on the question of communication with the Soudan. In accordance with those orders Mr. Fowler sent out, with full instructions, a staff of experienced surveyors, who spent five months between the first cataract and Khartoum, bringing back full surveys and sections, and much useful information bearing on the point. Under these surveys the present projected Soudan Railway has been commenced, and is already partially completed on the plan proposed by Mr. Fowler, which embraced—

1st. A railway from Wady* Halfa to Shendy.

2nd. A ship-incline at the first cataract.

This plan Mr. Fowler has since modified, in 1877, by diverting the route and terminus from Shendy to Khartoum, laying down a single line of rails from Wady Halfa, near the second cataract, to Khartoum—the total cost of which has been estimated at £3,430,000, rolling stock, stations, and accessories necessary for working the traffic included. This line is among the possibilities of the future, dependent chiefly on the financial condition of the country.

The wadys, the rains, the floods, the drift sands, the desert, and the white ants, are the chief obstacles the engineer will have to encounter, not to mention the wandering Bedouins, the Rob Roys of Africa.

* The wadys are ravines cut out by water running down from the desert plateau to the river, when sudden floods pour down during tropical storms. They are of great depth and extent, and very numerous.

The plague of ants, those apparently insignificant but really terrible enemies to man and his work in Central Africa, is thus described by Mr. Fowler's engineer: "Along the whole route (from Om-Badhr to El Fascher) white ants are very numerous. All kinds of wood are eaten; even the largest trees totally destroyed. Ordinary wood sleepers for railways would not last more than a few weeks. Ant-hills abounded, some of which were four feet high and three feet in diameter; but eighteen inches in height would be the general average."

The Khedive has possession now not only of several ports on the Red Sea, including Massowah, but about two years since obtained a very important one in addition, by purchase, from the then impecunious Sultan—the port of Zeila, situated at the extremity of a peninsula on the Somala coast, which opens rich districts, producing coffee, gums, ivory, wool, etc., to Egyptian trade.

The Abyssinian king, Johannes, has recently been keeping Massowah in a state of siege, and covets much the possession of that port, which would give him an outlet to the sea, which Ayssinia much needs. The latest tidings from that point indicate that negotiations were going on, virtually giving joint possession of that port to Egypt and Abyssinia, for all practical purposes; but as yet no treaty has been concluded.

The Soudan has proved a graveyard for many governors and explorers, both foreign and native. Here perished the two Arakel Beys—father and son—the one falling a victim to the climate in early manhood, while governor at Khartoum, many years since; the latter, as Governor of Massowah, accompanying the ill-starred expedition of Arendrup, and slain with him. Here also was foully

slaughtered Minzinger Pacha, whose name and reputation rank with those of Baker and Gordon Pachas, as pioneer and explorer. Here, too, were left the mortal remains of the two gallant and promising sons of Linant Pacha, like the famous grenadier of France, their countrymen, dead on "the field of honour," in these fatal precincts. To give the long list of victims the climate and the barbarous natives have claimed, would make a long and mournful bead-roll. Let us hope that the new governor-general may enjoy better fortune than the great majority of his pioneers.

The Budget report of 1873 puts down the receipts from the Soudan at £100,000.

"History teaches us," says Mariette Bey, "that Egypt is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the south by the Cataract of Assouan. But history, in imposing these limits, has not taken into account the indications furnished by geographical or race peculiarities. Over the north-west portion of the African continent stretches an immense zone of earth formed by the Nile, and fertilized by it alone. Scattered over its banks you find two different races, the one uncultivated, savage, incapable of self-government; the other a nation worthy the world's admiration for its glory, its industry, and all the elements of civilization that it nourishes in its bosom. History should say that wherever flows the Nile, there her rights and her dominion should extend."

CHAPTER XIX.

IMPROVEMENTS AND PUBLIC WORKS IN EGYPT.

Public improvements—Where some of the money has gone—General statement of public works and improvements during the present reign—Thirty or forty millions of pounds' worth accounted for—What and where are these improvements?—Harbour and lighthouse improvements—Gas and water works—Merchant marine—Thirteen hundred miles of railway completed in last twelve years.

THE statement has been broadly made, and as recklessly repeated, in print and in speech, that the Khedive "has borrowed and raised ninety millions of money, and has nothing to show for it but a few lath and plaster palaces."

Now, without attempting to act as the advocate of a prince, who certainly has been very wasteful of his own and other people's means, and has allowed his building mania to cumber the ground with a great many useless palaces for himself and family, justice compels me to say that the charge is as unjust and rash as it is false. This I shall proceed to prove by facts and figures accessible to every one who will take the trouble to look them up. The truth is that the improvements and public works begun and completed in Egypt during the past twelve years have been marvellous, and unequalled by any other country of quadruple the area and population of Egypt; and they have been of such a character as hereafter to

enhance immensely the resources and prosperity of the country. But twenty-five years ago Robert Stephenson commenced the single line from Alexandria to Suez, little more than 230 miles in length. Now there are more than 1300 miles completed, and the Khedive is pushing his lines of railways and telegraphs into the very heart of Central Africa. The Soudan line alone will be 1100 miles long, if the engineer's plans be carried out; but of course it will require several years to complete so great a work: even should this line be carried out on the grand proportions suggested by the engineer, which I doubt.

1st. The completion of the Suez Canal, also was the work of the Khedive, although the heavy cost to Egypt was due to Saïd Pacha's imprudent concessions, and the indemnity adjudged by the Emperor Napoleon while acting as arbitrator. For these Ismail Pacha cannot justly be made responsible, the pressure put upon him being greater than he could resist. Still, that great work may hereafter indemnify the country when it becomes the property of Egypt; as in justice it should, if Egypt should continue independent, and be sufficiently solvent, at the expiration of the term agreed on, to meet her obligations to the company and enter into possession. The alleged cost of this enterprise to Egypt is estimated in the *Statistique*—a Government publication—to have reached £10,000,000, and other estimates, including incidental expenses, interest, etc., run it up as high as £17,000,000.

In other public works of more immediate utility to Egypt—such as the lighting the cities with gas, supplying water by means of extensive water-works, as well as pure air through street improvements—the reign of the

Khedive has been a busy one, as well as in the extension of railway and telegraph lines, internal canals, docks, and lighthouses.

All these expenditures, it will be seen, were made for a great public purpose, and constitute part of the capital of the country, and may be considered as good investments. While Turkey has squandered the millions borrowed from Europe, and wrung from her own subjects, in extravagance and folly, in building palaces and buying ironclads exclusively, attending neither to the moral nor material advancement of her population or territory, Egypt can point to her great public works and improving people with just pride. Why Europe insists that "Sinbad" (Egypt) should carry on his back this "Old Man of the Sea" (Turkey), to the tune of £635,000 tribute per annum, is a political mystery which may soon be solved or dissolved. In the name of Justice and Progress we may rejoice that these Siamese twins can be cut asunder without danger to the living one: and without calling Russia in to act as surgeon. Besides the great public works enumerated, more than a hundred new canals have been dug for irrigation purposes, two-thirds of which are in Lower Egypt; more than 500 new bridges built to facilitate transportation of the crops, one of which—that connecting Cairo with the island of Ghezireh—is a magnificent engineering work. Both at Cairo and Alexandria are gas and water works, supplying those cities, and large gasometers.

2nd. The cost of the railway constructions and repairs during the last twelve years may be estimated at about £10,000,000, and the fact that that portion of the public debt guaranteed by these railways is regarded and

termed "a preference stock," proves that the investment has been a good one.

3rd. The harbour works at Alexandria and Suez, which are of great utility, and promise to improve greatly the commerce of the country, have absorbed several millions more, possibly £3,000,000 or £4,000,000. It is calculated that the revenues of the port of Alexandria may be raised to £200,000 annually, which would pay a handsome interest on the outlay, when added to those of Suez.

4th. The irrigating canals, several hundreds of miles of which the Khedive has made or improved during his reign, for the cost of which no statistics exist, must have absorbed much money; though I fear a great deal of fellah flesh and blood went into them, too, for very inadequate wages (if any), under the *corvée* system.

5th. The lighthouses erected on the Red Sea and Mediterranean coasts have supplied a great want to foreign and native commerce. Their cost has certainly been £200,000. The introduction of gas and water, improvements in sewerage, paving, and embellishment of Cairo, Alexandria, and Suez, are said to have cost £3,000,000 more.

6th. A fleet of merchant steamers to ply between Egypt, Greece, and Turkey, which is said to have cost £1,500,000; and

7th. The expeditions to Central Africa, and the Abyssinian campaign—works of dubious necessity and of no immediate utility—doubtless swallowed up £2,000,000 more.

So that, even from this rapid and imperfect summary of public improvements, accomplished within the last decade, it will be seen that the Khedive really has something

to show, more than his palaces, for the millions expended ; although even his best friend or most obsequious flatterer cannot venture to say he has shown much judgment, or a proper sense of his own means and those of the country, in many of the works he has undertaken, or completed.

He can show public works to the value of £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 for his twelve years' administration of the country, as a visible proof that, although he may have squandered some of the public money, he certainly has not thrown half of it away in ostentatious personal extravagances. Immense improvements also have been made in the public roads leading out of Cairo and Alexandria, as well as in the streets of those cities. The roads around Cairo, for example, and the bridges in that neighbourhood are worthy of all praise, and must have cost much hard cash, as well as indirectly through the labour employed upon them, even granting the labourers were not paid in money.

That Egypt is able to-day to astonish the rest of the world by the immense revenues she is able to dig out of her small area of soil—for all the money must come out of the land—is due in great part to the improvements made in irrigation and railway extension, which at once greatly increase the produce of the soil, and render transportation of produce much quicker, easier, and less costly than it used to be. This much, I think, is due to the Khedive to admit, whatever his sins or his shortcomings may have been as a ruler and a financier, and however much of public money he may have wasted in needless extravagances for his own or his children's luxury or state.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ARMY OF EGYPT.

An indeterminate quantity—Curious exemption of Cairenes and Alexandrians from conscription—How the conscription is made—What successive viceroys have done for the army—The army and the military chest—Excellent drill and organization of the forces—The American and other foreign officers—The Khedive's true, and Egypt's wisest policy.

THE Egyptian army has always been a kind of indeterminate quantity, concerning which but little was allowed to be known to the world at large, or outside the immediate circle of the chief military men who controlled it.

Until 1873 its number was jealously limited by the Sublime Porte; but the persuasive powers of the Khedive, backed by the potential argument of "backsheesh," which insured his own elevation in rank and title, the direct line of succession, and his independence of Constantinople in so far as the internal administration of Egypt was involved, obtained also the concession of raising his army to any number that pleased him.

Of this permission the Khedive has made no great use thus far; having rather diminished than increased his effective force, as far as the facts can be known; and having returned to the cultivation of the fields, "on

leave," large bodies of his soldiers, substituting for them in part the black recruits from the Soudan.

One peculiar feature of the Egyptian army is the incorporation of the native Christian element in its ranks; the levies from Upper Egypt being drawn chiefly from the Copt Christians, who constitute a considerable portion of the population in some of the provinces of Upper Egypt—many of the villages, especially on or near the Nile, being peopled by them. These men do not regard this exceptional mark of their equality with their Mussulman countrymen as a great favour: being a peaceful race, and preferring tranquil to warlike pursuits. Nevertheless the fact is not without its significance, as it shows the desire of the Khedive not to keep up invidious discriminations, prevailing everywhere else throughout the Ottoman dominions.

Another noteworthy peculiarity—although one of exclusion—is the exemption from military duty extended to the inhabitants of the two great cities of Alexandria and Cairo, in virtue of an ancient privilege exempting them from bearing arms. The reason for which this exemption was granted, I have not been able to discover; but in a country, and among a people, where custom has the binding force of law, the antiquity of the usage suffices to ensure its perpetuation, even under a rule as absolute as that of the Khedive. Thus at least one-tenth of the population are exempted by this curious privilege from the conscription which, outside of the foreign element, is theoretically universal in its application to all classes and creeds of the community.

The exemption is unjust to the native population on many accounts; and because it throws the burden of this

injurious system of recruiting on the rural population exclusively. The cities contain the great bulk of the element alien in blood and birth to Egypt—the trading, shopkeeping, and servant class, who drift into the cities from neighbouring countries.

Thus in Cairo you find a large population composed of an almost infinite variety of races, who should bear the burdens, as they enjoy the benefits, of the Egyptian Government; Europeans, who are protected by the capitulations, alone excepted.

Thus, at Cairo and Alexandria you see numbers of Syrians, of Copts, of Armenians, of Israelites, of Berbers, of Nubians, of Abyssinians, rayah Greeks, and Turks, all of whom, numbering probably 150,000, are exempted from conscription in these two cities alone. This is one among the many unaccountable anomalies of the Egyptian administration. If you inquire of a high functionary why this custom is allowed to continue, he shrugs his shoulders and answers, "Who knows? It was always so."

Apart from these exceptional cases, however, the conscription is sternly enforced elsewhere, and theoretically with impartiality; but King Backsheesh can always interpose successfully here, through the venality of the agents employed, who always "make a good thing of it;" and hence the draft ever falls on that portion of the able-bodied population most wanted for the cultivation of the fields, especially in the upper country, where the population is sparse. Yet it is on this section that the twin abuses of Egyptian administration—the conscription and the *corvée*—weigh most heavily on the industrious poor, who cannot buy exemption through influence or money. In addition to the blinding effects of backsheesh on the

recruiting officer, the recruit is allowed to return from service after one year's duty, on payment of a fixed sum.

As there are no territorial commands, or peace organizations into brigades and divisions, as in European armies, the system, or want of system in the military organization, can be easily comprehended by military men.

There may be some pretence at rotation, and as to an annual contingent; but in reality the conscription is enforced by "superior orders," whenever the whim or the necessity for more soldiers is felt by the Khedive; and then the conscription is carried out much on the old system, so often described by indignant tourists, who have seen gangs of apparent convicts, chained together, and driven by soldiers to the place of embarkation, escorted by howling and shrieking women, who see with them their daily bread and that of their children taken away. Those unpleasant sights and scenes have not yet vanished from the Egyptian soil, either for conscription or *corvée*; but it is high time that they should; if reform is to be more than a hollow show and a mockery.

The acquisition of the Soudan has brought some alleviation to the lot of the fellah, inasmuch as the savage blacks of Central Africa have been found to make good soldiers; and you now see whole regiments of these, who have replaced the agricultural labourer, wisely sent home to till his fields and take care of his family. This is the first actual benefit accruing to Egypt from these acquisitions; and it may be greatly extended, by drawing on that savage swarm of humanity—warriors by instinct—and releasing the gentle fellah from a duty, for which neither his nature, nor any amount of training, can fit him. The secret of the domination exercised over the

chest is empty, as it often is), that it is impossible even to guess, at any time, as to the actual effective force of the Egyptian army.

Of their admirable training, drill, and discipline, under the supervision of the exceedingly able staff of American, and other foreign officers, in the Khedive's service, as well as of the instruction given officers in the polytechnic schools, foreign military observers speak most highly; and the fact is obvious to the most careless observer, as these troops march past the hotels. A finer looking soldiery can be seen nowhere; and that some of the native officers at least are clever, an inspection of their drill, and a visit to the monthly *séances* of the Geographical Society, where one of them occasionally reads a report of his explorations, will prove to the most prejudiced stickler for caste and colour.

I am told that at present their weak point is in their officers; but my own private opinion is that they are not the stuff good soldiers are made of, except the Soudanese, and had better be devoted to the arts and pursuits of peace, than to the right royal trade of murder by wholesale.

The infantry are chiefly armed with the Remington rifle; and of arms and ammunition the Khedive has laid in so abundant a store, as to have sent millions of fixed ammunition to Constantinople as a present, in addition to his contingent of troops and their supplies.

Each cavalry regiment is armed partly with the lance, partly with the carbine.

The irregular cavalry is supplied by the Bedouins, who furnish their own arms and horses, and are commanded by their own chiefs. They resemble the Cossacks in appearance, and in more particulars than one.

We learn from foreign sources that "Nothing more than a rough estimate of the Egyptian army is possible, but it has been calculated that with the regiments filled up from the reserves, the fighting strength of the regular army would be about 60,000, with 144 guns. There would remain a reserve of about 30,000, and an irregular force of possibly 60,000 more; but the probability is, that the strength of the army would entirely depend at any given moment on the amount of money in the possession of the Khedive at the time and the conscription three years previously.

As far as I have been able to pick up any information on this jealously guarded secret, the above estimate is in the main correct.

The chief use of the Egyptian army, outside of the "gendarmerie," or local police force (which is well armed, uniformed, and disciplined, and preserves peace and order admirably), is for the protection of the frontier against the desert Bedouins on the one side, and from the Abyssinians on the other; both of whose raiding propensities are very great, and require to be constantly kept in check.

I do not propose here to enter into a discussion on the Khedive's little wars with his neighbours, which I sincerely believe were forced upon him, as he is more a man of peace than a man of blood; but those who are curious concerning the last and most costly of them, will find a truthful account of it, taken from the notes of a staff-officer, in the July number of *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which the whole story is intelligibly and impartially told. It is probable, however, that this disastrous experiment will not soon be willingly repeated by the Khedive.

The duties of the foreign staff-officers are not confined

to the drilling and instruction of officers and privates, and organization of the army. They have been busily and usefully employed in the work of exploration in the Soudan and elsewhere; and have done immense service in ascertaining and reporting on those portions of the Khedive's Egypt, of which little or nothing was previously known. The report of the chief of Staff, Stone Pacha (as yet, I believe, unpublished), to be found in the Appendix, will show where they have gone, and what they have done.

In a letter from one of those officers to me, he says:—
“Egypt is abused for spending money on the Soudan Railway; but the reconnoitring officers find hundreds of thousands of cattle, fat and sleek. Now, when the railway shall be finished to Dongola, in three or four years, that station will be within easy driving reach of those vast herds, and instead of importing many thousands of cattle every year from Greece or Turkey, Egypt can bring down her own cattle from her own provinces, and that so cheaply that she might even export cattle to Europe.”

The Khedive is shrewd enough to see and know that the safety of his patrimony, and integrity of Egypt, do not depend on and could never be protected by arms alone; but rest on the determination of the Great Powers of Europe, who gave and can take away his heritage, should they ever deem it necessary to change the Egyptian *status* for selfish or for State motives. He further understands, better than most princes, the wisdom of the saying of Lysander, that “when the lion's skin is too short, it may be eked out by the fox's!” and both his precept and his practice have accorded with this ancient maxim: which possibly he never heard of, though he has acted upon it.

In European jealousies lies Egyptian safety—not in arms or armaments, nor in the wish or will of the dying dotard at Constantinople, whose ominous shadow has so long veiled the light and life of Egypt, the blood of whose peaceful people is even now being poured out on foreign battle-fields, that the waning Crescent may not utterly disappear from the Western sky.

If Ismail Khedive is wise, he will turn his attention henceforth more to the arts of peace than to those of war; although he does well in keeping up a sufficient force for the internal protection of his territory and people, against his lawless border neighbours; and in securing the best military talent from abroad, to make a small but efficient army do the duty of a larger one.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SHADOW OF THE STRANGER.

Egypt's experience—Her three periods: Pagan, Christian, and Mus-sulman—International jealousies—Shall the Mediterranean be a French or English "lake"?—Curious history of this rivalry in regard to the overland transit—Cost to Egypt of conciliating the rival nationalities—Mariette Bey's characterization of the Egyptians—The irony of their destiny—The shadow of the stranger eclipsing native government—*Laissez nous faire!*

EGYPT, during her long life of many thousands of years, has passed through three periods: Pagan, Christian, and Mussulman. The first is supposed to have endured for upwards of 5000 years, terminating A.D. 381; the second lasted 259 years, ending A.D. 640; and the third commenced at the latter period, and endures to the present time—Egypt continuing subject ever to Constantinople, until her quasi-independence was obtained by Mehemet Ali, and, under many different phases, resolutely maintained by his successors.

Her future lot, at this moment, he would indeed be a bold man who would venture to predict; for clouds and darkness now veil her horizon.

During the reigns of successive viceroys, England and France have alternately exerted the greatest influence at the viceregal court; and until the fatal day of Sedan, the

latter, assimilating more in character and language to the successors of Mehemet Ali, had certainly enjoyed the greatest favour, and shaped more visibly the political action of the viceroys. But since that disastrous time the star of France has waned, that of England risen on the Egyptian firmament; until the wish or will of the British Cabinet has become a law unto Egypt, almost as binding as the ancient "laws of the Medes and Persians" were said to have been.

How France and Frenchmen chafe at this, may be seen in their jealous insistence on more than equal representation on the new tribunals, for their nationality; as well as in the late financial arrangements, where if English agents have the collection, French agents have the control over the disbursement, of the public funds; and whereas England sends to Egypt gentlemen skilled in public accounts, France sends her most practised diplomats, to be near the Khedive.

This international jealousy is not confined to the two nations named, for it exists in other nationalities, who have, or suppose they have, a political or commercial interest in Egypt; yet its greatest manifestation has hitherto come from the two great Powers, whose struggle for the last half century has been, whether the Mediterranean was to become a French or an English "lake."

A curious exhibition of this feeling has just been made in France—rendered more keenly sensitive by the sense of lost *prestige* and power, since she dashed herself against the German Colossus.

Reports having been generally circulated, of the initiation of negotiations between England and the Porte, for the purchase of the eminent domain in the land occupied

by the Suez Canal, the *Moniteur* (always regarded as the mouthpiece of the existing Government of France) published conspicuously the following remarkable comment thereupon, towards the end of June in the present year:—

“A rumour reaches us from London which, no doubt, is without foundation, but to which it appears to us important to call attention. It is said that the Ottoman Government has offered to make over to England for twenty-five millions of francs the Sultan's ‘territorial rights’ over the Suez Canal. In the first place, we wish to remark that the Sultan has had no ‘territorial rights’ in Egypt since 1840, when the Sublime Porte, with the assent and sanction of the Powers, made the viceroyalty of Egypt the exclusive and hereditary *appanage* of the family of Mehemet Ali. We will also add that the Khedive, as master of Egypt, and consequently of the territory which the canal goes through, has undertaken to ‘exploiter,’ in common with the Suez Canal Company, the land on both banks of the canal for a period of ninety-nine years. It would be requisite, to realize this news from London, to assume that, in the first place, the present Sultan should revoke the hereditary rights held by the Khedive since 1840 with the sanction of the Powers; and next, that a new code should permit a sovereign to sell, for his own benefit, the private estates existing in his empire.”

The significance of this note consists in its publication by the semi-official organ of the French Foreign Office. Its *animus* is evident; and it truly represents French feeling in and out of Egypt.

So long as the two Powers were in equipoise, successive

viceroys were adroit enough to play the one against the other, for their own protection; appealing to the outside Powers as make-weights. But recently, as before remarked, the one has preponderating influence; and hence the ill-concealed jealousy of the other; which hereafter may find anew its battle-field in Egypt, when France recovers from her present political eclipse in the Orient.

One of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the path of Egyptian progress has been the necessity of conciliating, at very heavy cost, all the rival nationalities in Egypt, representing in all about 100,000, out of her population of 5,500,000! For this small quantity of leaven is made to leaven the whole loaf, and swell enormously the annual Egyptian Budget, by the heavy additional expenditure imposed on Egypt, by the presence of the stranger on her soil.

A shrewd observer, recently writing from the spot, has remarked that the great cost of the new reform measures has arisen from this cause, which "*compels the Khedive to employ half a dozen persons to do the work of one!*" citing the fact of twelve nationalities being represented on the judicial tribunals; to which he might have added, that some of the most favoured of these have three or four to their share; besides a crowd of minor officers of court. The same is the case as to the public debt commission, the railway, and other administrations. Very curious manifestations of this rivalry are constantly being made, adding greatly to the perplexities of the Khedive, and to the costs of his administrations. It is difficult to see how this evil is to be done away with, so long as the causes for it exist, and Egyptians and Foreign Governments occupy the same relative positions. Yet, probably, the

permanence of the dynasty of Mehemet Ali has been due as much to the eternal intermeddling and undying jealousies of the foreign Powers, in regard to Egypt, as to the ability of his successors, who certainly have played that card very skilfully, however much they may have erred as to other points of the game. To-day the necessity of continued interposition in Egyptian affairs, both political and financial, seems to be inevitable; in consequence of the existing complications, familiar to all the world.

Whether the present anomalous condition of things can continue; whether an *imperium in imperio*—through which a practically absolute ruler is divested of his authority and control over all his administrations, and his treasury, by a foreign commission, and a foreign judicial tribunal, appointed and paid by himself, to sit in judgment on his acts—can be preserved in Egypt; and the grandson of Mehemet Ali be long content to rest in this attitude before his own people and the world, is a question that time alone can solve.

The shadow of the stranger, projected over Egypt, now hides both the throne and the native administration. Whether it will ever again be removed, and throne and country pass under the protectorate of one, instead of many foreign Powers, or its present ruler resume the powers he has temporarily abdicated, with renewed *prestige* and replenished treasury, is an Egyptian riddle, more puzzling than any ever propounded by its ancient Sphinx.

When the tardily appreciated and unrewarded enterprise of Lieutenant Waghorn had demonstrated the feasibility of the overland transit through Egypt, and

England sought to utilize it by a line of railway from Alexandria to Cairo, French jealousy immediately strove to bar the way; and for some time did so successfully. From a curious pamphlet, published by an old resident of Egypt, in 1851, the following particulars of this struggle are taken—rendered doubly interesting at this moment, in consequence of the impending struggle over the Suez Canal property, foreshadowed by several recent indications. The writer says:—

“The first care of France, after the settlement of 1841, was to remove from the mind of Mehemet Ali the bad feeling he naturally entertained towards her, for the non-performance of those promises, on the reliance of which he had risked his very existence. It was a difficult task; but by working alternately on his *amour-propre*, and on his fears, she ultimately succeeded. The most marked and delicate attentions were resorted to by Louis Philippe, and the members of his family; while at the same time, the French *employés* in Egypt, and the French party in the native ranks, constantly held out that Great Britain had aggressive views upon Egypt, and that being the half-way house to India, she would never rest until she had made it her own. Her progress in India was constantly referred to, and her gradual steps from commercial relations to exclusive sovereignty and military possession, were daily urged upon the Pacha's notice. At the same time he was taught to believe, that France alone could save him from similar consequences at the grasping hand of England. A host of Frenchmen were taken into his service, some of whom were to be met with in every administration; many of them holding important posts, with the rank of pacha and bey; and these, aided by such

Turks and Egyptians as had received their education at Paris, established an all-powerful influence on the action of Government—an influence whose force was strained to the uttermost to thwart any measure which seemed, in the most remote manner, to forward British interests.

“To Great Britain, the immense importance of railway communication between the two seas, was one of those occasions which seemed to call for the most energetic exertion of this influence; nor did French jealousy fail to appreciate it. Accordingly, the opposition of France to this railroad has ever been of the most determined nature. Its existence, or its non-existence, seemed the point on which her policy turned; and eventually it became a question involving her support or her hostility.

“Twice the French party succeeded in inducing Mehemet Ali to abandon the project; although at one time more than thirty miles of rail were actually bought, and for fifteen years were lying unused in the Government stores.

“It was the same party, and the same influence, which planned, and caused to be executed, the fortifications of Alexandria, and the whole sea-coast of Egypt....

“An English company had been formed for the transit of passengers and goods through Egypt, in connection with the steam communications to Alexandria and Suez. Great privileges had been granted it by the local Government; a large capital was embarked in building station-houses in the desert, in providing steamboats, carriages, horses, and other means of conveyance. . . . Its growing importance attracted the jealousy of the French party, and its removal from English hands was decided upon.

“They persuaded the Pacha that the existence of so

powerful a-foreign company was detrimental to his interests; and that some day it might become a stepping-stone for the aggressive views of Great Britain upon Egypt. The station-houses, they said, would form the nucleus of forts, and the steamers on the Nile might, with little difficulty and upon some trivial pretence, be easily converted into vessels of war. With such arguments they persuaded Mehemet Ali to take the transit into his own hands, and partly by force, and partly by promises of large compensation, he became the proprietor.

"These facts suffice to show to what extent the mind of Mehemet Ali was held in subjection by his French allies. In return for this compliant submission to their authority, he received, it is true, more solid proofs of friendship than those conveyed in the shape of presents, flattery, and courteous attentions. They lent him their firm support at Constantinople; and to the day of his death aided him in resisting every semblance of encroachment on that freedom of action guaranteed to him and his successors by the firman of investiture. . . .

"During the lifetime of his grandfather, Abbas had invariably protested against the undue influence of France; and from the day he came into power, he resolved on relieving his country from so grievous an incubus. His first act was in that sense; and after hurrying through the form and ceremony of investiture at Constantinople, he no sooner returned to Cairo than he set to work in earnest. He commenced by dismissing from his service, and pensioning off, a number of Frenchmen, and other Europeans, who for years had enjoyed the rank and drawn the emoluments of beys; but the exact nature of whose duties it was difficult to define. Amongst

his own officers there were many, holding high rank and important posts, who had been gained over, heart and soul, to the views of France. These he recommended 'to retire to Constantinople'" (i.e., banished).

English influence at length prevailed, and the road was constructed; and under the Empire, France patronized the Suez Canal, as a political equipoise.

History repeats itself oftener in Egypt than elsewhere, and the old rivalry is neither dead nor sleeping to-day, as living men may see. In addition to the former rivalry, new ones have been created. Until the Russo-Turkish war removed her representative from Cairo, Russia was busily agitating in Egypt, with the assistance of Pan-slavist envoys, whose correspondence has been intercepted and published. The new kingdom of united Italy, whose subjects almost equal those of France, and double those of England in Egypt, claims a consultative voice in the councils of the Khedive in all matters of foreign concern. Nor is there any foreign agent there who does not aspire to have his finger in the pie, and exert some influence at the Court to which he is accredited—the functions of consuls-general being purely political, except in cases of appeal from the action of their subordinates.

Egypt seems to have been set apart by destiny as the battle-ground of races, and so continues still; her native population having far less voice in her councils, and far less of the profits derived from their labour, than the "stranger within their gates," of any alien race whatsoever. And yet there never was a race, as Mariette Bey has justly observed, more naturally conservative, and less disposed to strife, than the native Egyptian is and ever has been from his earliest recorded history; which, how-

ever, has been a history of change and of struggle always, the tide of events sweeping Egypt, in spite of herself, into the turbid torrent of perpetual revolutions.

"Egypt," says the close and experienced observer of her monuments and history I have already cited, "through her admirable climate, which makes the mere act of living a luxury—through the fertility of her soil—through the gentle and docile character of her people, rendering the introduction of the arts of civilization so easy—is *par excellence* the most conservative of countries. Aggression, and the impulse of expansion and propagandism, so common to other races, are unknown to her; and did not others come to disturb the tranquil repose which is the essence of her life, it is very certain she, of her own accord, would never stir to create agitations elsewhere. When she has been violently pushed into such movements, against her natural bent, they have proved but temporary; and it is always sure, whenever the final catastrophe comes, poor Egypt must prove the loser."

"*Laissez nous faire !*" ("Let us alone") should be the motto, as it long has been the despairing cry, of Egypt and her rulers; and until this perpetual meddling and muddling in her affairs ceases, and she is left to stand or fall alone, without so many super-serviceable friends pulling or pushing her in different directions, the shadow of the stranger will continue to shut out her sunshine from the natives of her soil.

CHAPTER XXII.

BY CAIRO, TO EUROPE, VIA ALEXANDRIA.

By rail from Cairo to Alexandria—Disturbing a hareem—The last of backsheesh—The country *en route*—Something about the Egyptian Brighton—Old and New Alexandria—The place and people—The different routes back to Europe—The Brindisi route—Picturesque old places on the Italian coast—The Moorish pirates—Through Italy—Bologna and its museum—*La Belle France*; and adieu to Egypt.

THE communication between Cairo and Alexandria is very intimate and constant, although the residents at or near the latter city affect to look down rather contemptuously on the former, as of mushroom growth, compared to their comparatively ancient colony, the nucleus and nest of the foreign settlement in Egypt. On the other hand, the Cairenes assume towards the Alexandrians the patronizing and pitying demeanour assumed by "fast" young gentlemen on encountering the old friends of their parents, whom they regard as decidedly "slow," and ever treat with a mixture of deference and forbearance, which is very exasperating. This rivalry is curious to contemplate; and Shepheard's Hotel, where the English, and English speaking element, most do congregate, affords daily exemplifications and illustrations of the bad blood engendered between the

commercial and Court centres, during the present reign. Before that time this rivalry and jealous feeling did not exist. Mehemet Ali, his son, and grandson, preferred Alexandria to Cairo; and made it the capital. Abbas shunned both cities as much as he could, avoiding men and their haunts, that he might enjoy his own moody humour in the silence and solitude of his desert palaces.

The journey may be described as a short one, elongated by perpetual stoppages, each of which is of considerable duration, time counting for nothing in railway calculations on this line. The Suez Canal has hurt the railway lines, by diverting the great bulk of the passenger and goods traffic, which used to be transported from Alexandria to Cairo and Suez, under the old overland transit route; and the extension of the interior irrigating canals also takes off another slice. The new Fresh-Water Canal to Ismailia will cut another large "candle" off; and this may partially account for the general air of decay and dilapidation which pervaded the entire service.

The route to Alexandria has been so often described in the books of the Nile tourists, who write as they run, that it would only fatigue the reader to recapitulate the oft-told tale; though there are views constantly being framed in the carriage windows, that would make the fortune of the painter cunning enough to catch and put them down on canvas. But Ismail Khedive has spent time, money, and influence in building up, and (as he thinks) beautifying Cairo, and has constituted it his capital and chief place of residence—rarely visiting Alexandria, where he also has palaces, or Ramleh, on the sea-shore near Alexandria, whose refreshing sea breezes might woo him to pass the sultry Egyptian midsummer there.

In despite of the dust, the heat, the glare, the flies, and the ceaseless shrieking for backsheesh of the dirty little imps that haunt every station, with their *goolash* of water, oranges, and dried dates, on which the flies are ever feasting, at every station you feel you are really passing through the Lotos-land, with its wonderful varieties of verdure spread over the map-like stretch of tableland, over which the camel and water-ox are patiently plodding, and the half-naked Egyptians, on donkey-back in the foreground, make pictorial.

The first surprise awaiting the returning traveller is at Ramleh, which, from a small straggling sea-coast village of a hundred houses or cabins, has now grown into a large and densely inhabited town of many thousands of permanent residents. There are no less than two railway lines passing through and to it; and a large proportion of the foreign colony doing business at Alexandria now live there winter and summer, going daily into the city, about four miles distant. Every possible variety of architectural caprice may be seen at Ramleh, which, squatting down on the sandy sea-shore without trees, is all open to the view—from Khedivial palaces, built in utter scorn of all the orders of architecture, to Swiss chalets, square boxes, and houses of as confused plans as the dreams engendered of undigested suppers.

With the slight drawbacks of the absence of all verdure, and a blinding glare from the white sand all day, accompanied by a corresponding degree of heat (only rendered endurable by the stiff sea breeze), the absence of a casino or other place of public amusement, and the impossibility of doing much visiting until after sunset—I should suppose Ramleh might be a pleasant summer's

resort for a person with a fine faculty for sleep. Seriously speaking, however, the place is a real godsend to the Alexandrians, from the healthy character of its position, and its refreshing sea breezes; and I am told that the hotel of Beau Sejour there is in every respect a most admirable one; while the hospitality of its residents would relieve any defects there, did they exist. The views from its high bluffs, of Alexandria and far out to sea, are very fine; and those who know the place and people best like them most, which certainly is a good sign.

On entering the railway station you see the first indications of Alexandria's improvement; for it would be considered a remarkably fine and spacious one in any capital in Europe; and everything is admirably systematized there for the safe and speedy transportation of passengers and their luggage to their hotels after arrival. As we drove through the principal streets to the Grand Plaza, on or near which are all the principal hotels, we remarked the great improvement and growth of the city in the last twelve years, in despite of the Khedive's small patronage of it; for high and solid blocks of stone buildings now occupy the spaces formerly void, or boasting only of small and shaky-looking houses, from the Rosetta gate down to the streets leading into the plaza. Around this plaza also improvement had manifested itself, in the shape of still larger and handsomer blocks of stone buildings, many of which are worthy of London or Paris. There was now a general air of freshness and bustle about the place, contrasting strongly with the drowsy aspect borne by place and people in the days when Saïd Pacha was viceroy, and laid out and planted the open

space in the centre: now filled with trees and fountains, and whence old Mehemet Ali in bronze, seated on horse-back, looks down paternally, yet grimly, on his favourite city.

For more than thirty years past Alexandria has been substantially an European, not an Eastern city; the only Oriental features it possesses being its bazaars, which are by no means fair average specimens of the article, and a population about half Arab, comprising chiefly the labouring and small shopkeeping classes. So that Alexandria, like Smyrna and many other cities of the Levant, disappoints the traveller freshly arriving in the East, from looking so European—resembling rather an Italian than an Eastern town. Yet there is a great deal to be seen, and more to be learned about the land and people of Egypt from old residents there, than the mere casual visitor would suppose. The evidences of capital in the buildings—chiefly owned by Europeans—and of wealth displayed in the houses and shops, are very striking; and although for a succession of years, since the overtrading and high prices consequent on the American war, business pressure and bad times have prevailed there, and the merchants are gloomy as to their future, the place looks thriving and prosperous.

I do not doubt that, as Saïd Pacha predicted, the Suez Canal has injured Alexandria, by depriving it of the old transit profits, as much of Egyptian produce now passes out *via* Port Saïd. Yet the statistics show that Alexandria is still a busy port, and the costly improvements now making in her harbour may cause her to regain more than her lost ground, when completed.

Alexandria, representing as it does most of the foreign

trade of Egypt, yet does not embrace more than three-fifths of the entire movement from the Egyptian ports.

This arises from the navigation from the other ports, chiefly from Port Said and Suez for direct transit, and from Damietta, Rosetta, and the Red Sea ports, which have the local traffic. According to the *Statistique de l'Egypte*, during the ten years intervening between 1863 and 1872 the number of vessels of all kinds entering the port of Alexandria amounted to 32,433, giving an annual mean of 3·243, each of 390 tons. This number was an increase of more than a thousand vessels over the preceding decade, and chiefly in respect to steamers; a tendency which the Suez Canal, and the improvement of the port of Alexandria, will cause to manifest itself more strikingly still. The most remarkable feature with regard to the commercial movement to and from Alexandria, is found in the fact that the exports double the imports; which under sound principles of political economy, under a proper administration, ought to render Egypt the most prosperous country on the face of the earth.

From Alexandria to Brindisi by P. and O. steamer takes but three days; from Egypt to Marseilles by *Messageries* takes six days—giving two days' advantage on the trip to Paris by the former line, though a longer land travel by rail.

Leaving Brindisi, if lucky enough to travel by daylight, the traveller sees some curious scenery and very odd-looking old places, as he is whirled rapidly past the coast line, often in full view of the sea. Sitting in your railway carriage, there passes before you a series of panoramic pictures of crumbling mediæval old towns,

each of which has its little history of the days when the Moorish cruisers used to descend on these coasts, harry the towns, and take away the men and women into captivity. Most of these places have a tower set upon a high hill, to which the people used to run for safety when the pirates came; and many have attempts at fortifications. They look more picturesque than pleasant as places of residence, and have a most decayed and mouldy look, even when viewed from a distance. They must appear terribly tumble-down old places on a near approach, for even distance could not lend enchantment to the view of them. The people looked half fisherman, half pirate, with a strong dash of the beggar; and both places and people bore the stamp of poverty and neglect.

At Ancona and Bologna the traveller may sometimes stop for a few hours, and both will well repay a longer visit; the places being very quaint and curious, and the art treasures and antiquities of the museum at Bologna being exceptionally good and numerous. It was here the famous Cardinal Mezzofanti, so celebrated for his gift of tongues, presided, lived, and died; mastering more languages than any one man (or even woman) could possibly ever have use for. The old city is so very attractive to strangers that, like a mousetrap, once in it is very hard to get out of.

By the Brindisi route you also pass through Turin, and that wonderful triumph of man over mountains, the Mont Cenis Tunnel; emerging from which again into bright sunshine and open air, after being half choked and stone blind in its gloomy passages, is like being born over again, adding a new and fresh charm to the beauties of nature unappreciated before.

At Modane, on the frontier line of France and Italy, the Custom-house nuisance again awaits the voyager—a troublesome and useless farce in most instances, and one which the civilization of the nineteenth century should mitigate if it cannot (as it ought) entirely do away with it. Here you often see the mountain tops and sides, a rugged range, covered with snow; and then, after a tedious ride through wild but uninteresting country, with the worst food at the railway stations that ever tried the teeth, the digestion, and the temper of hungry travellers, you descend into the smiling plains and vine-covered fields of *La Belle France*—more lovely still by contrast with rugged impoverished-looking Italy, whose most uninviting side you see during this twenty-four hours' railway travel.

Before descending, however, you feel that your Oriental dream-life is finished, and that you are returning to matter-of-fact places and people, and less sunny skies again. Before reaching the dividing line between Italy and France, the broken character of the country, whose chief product seems to consist of rugged stones of various sizes, piled up in some places into high peaks whose crests never seem to doff their white nightcaps, and keen breezes that cut you like a knife, as you stand in a bare unfurnished room, where Custom-house officials search your luggage for tobacco or brandy, cause you to sigh at the memory of the sunny skies and soft breezes of old Egypt. As you rush more comfortably through France, the souvenir of Egypt is more pleasantly revived by the softer climate and serener skies; though the monotonous sameness of the scenery wearies both eye and mind. The same long flat stretches of field and wood, bordered with

the prim rows of straight poplar ; the same quaint old-fashioned towns and villages, looking precisely alike ; the same ever-recurring types of population, plainly distinguishable each by its peculiar dress, as soldier or priest, *bourgeois* or countryman—offer little to excite or amuse the traveller, whirled by express through *La Belle France*, until he reaches Paris, the only city in the world where every human being feels himself at home.

As far behind us now in thought and feeling (though but a week has elapsed since we left her hospitable shores), as if centuries and the whole globe divided us, must Egypt now be to the returned pilgrim of our widely different civilization ; but the memory of the land and of the people, like the subtle perfume which still scents the mummy-cloth after thousands of years, lingers and must ever abide with those, who have visited and dwelt in the “Old House of Bondage.”

EGYPT'S FUTURE

(WRITTEN IN 1877).

FROM the foregoing pages the reader will have been able to form an idea of what the new masters of the "Old House of Bondage" have done, as well as what they have left undone, for the country and people under their charge for three-quarters of a century.

As to the Khedive himself, who certainly has not come out "like refined gold" from the furnace into which his own short-sightedness and improvidence have cast him, his trials have brought to light the weakest, as well as the worst points of his character, viz., his egotism, his want of good faith, his vindictiveness, and his necessity of always leaning on some stronger will than his own for support.

He struck away his prop when he sent away Nubar Pacha, and since this removal has shown pitiable vacillation in his policy—if we may dignify by such a name the series of shifting expedients by which, before and since the removal and death of the Mouffetich, he has sought to regain some of his lost *prestige* in foreign eyes.

As he has virtually abdicated the absolute power, wielded so fatally for his people, in despite of the progress the country has made, we may now consider the Egyptian

problem, irrespective of *the personality*, that so long overshadowed all else, and which has induced me to give the title to this book ; for under the present reign it has been

“THE KHEDIVE’S EGYPT,”

and nothing else !

Proprietor, in his own name and that of his family, of *one-fifth of the best land in Egypt*, the sweat and blood of the fellahs has fertilized it ; and even great public works have been made and used, solely to increase the wealth and pamper the luxury of the Khedive and his household ; until even the much-enduring fellah now murmurs in revolt, and curses his task-master.

What Egypt needs, in my humble judgment, to redeem and regenerate her, may be briefly summed up in a few sentences, as follows :—

1st. Separation from Turkey, assigning the tribute to the creditors to whom it has been pledged, until that liability is liquidated ; the privilege of regulating her own internal affairs, and pursuing the march of progress, under the direction of her own most enlightened sons, aided by foreign counsel. The Khedive might still act as titular head of the State, but as a constitutional ruler, shorn of absolute power.

2nd. The substitution of legality, and of the judgment of tribunals, for the arbitrary will of one man ; following up the precedent which the Khedive has unwillingly established in his judicial and financial reforms ; making those general and of universal application, which are now limited and restricted. So that the reign of Law may really be established in fact, as well as in name, throughout Egypt.

3rd. Publicity and responsibility in all matters apper-

taining to the different administrations: as well as in the discussions and recommendations of the body of Notables from the provinces (termed a Parliament) now sitting in secret session only, with an increase of their powers and responsibilities.

4th. Reduction and restriction of royal or public expenditures, and of the civil list, within reasonable limits: as well as of the building and improvement manias: and adjustment of the public machinery, in fit proportion to the work it has to do.

5th. A more just and equitable system of taxation, administered or supervised by honest, educated, and responsible officials, and the abolition of all extraordinary impositions or forced loans, under any name or pretext whatsoever. Such new system of taxation to be devised and apportioned by the Assembly of Notables, who understand the country and the whole subject.

6th. The elevation of the fellaheen, by education and governmental aid, to a standard of equality, both in physical condition and political rights, with the labouring class of civilized countries; and the abolition of the *corvée*, and all forced labour, except in cases of absolute public necessity, in which latter case its objectionable features also should be amended.

7th. The gradual, if not immediate, abolition of slavery in Egypt; all the easier because only domestic slavery exists there, and is half abolished already. With its removal many of the social evils existing there would be ameliorated, the condition of woman changed, and her gilded slavery also approach its end.

Of course, in the present condition of the country, the initiatory steps in such reforms would have to be taken

under foreign tutelage; but there is already a small educated class of natives, and so quick-witted a race as the Egyptian, can soon be taught sufficient to take at least a part in self-government.

These are not the dreams of a visionary, nor would the difficulties of putting such reforms into execution be half so great, as most people might imagine; owing to the gentle and docile character of the race, whom centuries of cruelty and oppression have failed to lower or deprave.

Let us not, then, while giving the Khedive his due for such good as he may have accomplished, do injustice to the instruments through which he has achieved it. Let us not, to use the language of a famous writer on another occasion, "*while admiring the plumage, forget the dying bird.*"

The same external pressure which has already compelled the Khedive to relax his death-grip on the finances of the country, and partially to submit himself to the rule of law, as embodied in the mixed tribunals, might, in the great interests of humanity, compel the concessions shadowed forth above, and the liberation of an entire people from oppression. Then, but not until then, will the "Old House of Bondage" no longer deserve the name, which has clung to it from times older than tradition: and has unhappily continued to be a just appellation, whether its taskmasters called themselves Pharaohs, or Khedives.

APPENDIX A.

CONCESSION AND ALLEGED COST OF SUEZ CANAL
TO EGYPT.

No. 1.

The concession for the Suez Canal Company was obtained by M. de Lesseps in 1854, and in December and January, 1854-55, the preliminary surveys were made on the present line, about 98 miles in length.

In November, 1855, an International Commission visited the isthmus, and their report was published in June, 1856. But the scheme dragged heavily for two years more; and it was not until 1858 that the Suez Ship Canal Company, under the name of *La Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez*, was organized, and not until March, 1859, that what were termed "preparatory explorations" were commenced, against which the viceroy issued his circular, prohibiting the commencement of the work before the consent of the Sublime Porte, which was a condition precedent, had been obtained.

From that period to 1869, when it was completed and inaugurated with great pomp and ceremony, the work went on, but with frequent interruptions arising from political and financial considerations, all of which, with the potent aid of Napoleon III., were finally overcome; the viceroy who granted, and his successor who confirmed the concession, having paid from first to last not less than £9,000,000 in cash, swollen by interest and other incidentals to £15,000,000 or £16,000,000.

The entire length of the canal is little short of 100 miles; 300 feet wide on top from one bank to the other, about 150 feet at the

bottom, with an average depth of 24 feet. It connects four natural lakes—Mengaleh, Ballah, Timsah, and the Bitter Lakes—which had to be deepened to the requisite depth.

Two enormous jetties, one of 2700, the other of 2000 yards, with the distance of 1300 feet between their respective ends, constitute the protection of the canal against the choking up by the Mediterranean, and for protection of the shipping seeking transit through the canal, by the formation of a basin of 500 acres in extent, completely sheltered from storms.

The cuttings at El Guise, south of Kantara, are very heavy, extending five miles to Lake Ballah. Twenty-five vast steam dredges, and a large force of labourers, were employed on this work, and at some places the perpendicular depth excavated is upwards of 100 feet. The plateau on which El Guise stands is the most elevated point on the canal, and the labour of 20,000 fellahs for two years was required to cut a channel deep enough to float the steam dredges from the Mediterranean, and in filling the shallow basin of Timsah.

The Fresh-Water Canal from the Damietta branch of the Nile, originally extending to Zagazig, 50 miles west of Ismaïlia, has been extended eastwards to a point two or three miles west of Ismaïlia—then a part of the desert—and was of essential advantage in the construction of the canal, by furnishing the fresh water (which previously tasked several thousands of camels and donkeys to convey from Cairo) for the labourers engaged on the work. It is 26 feet wide, and about four feet deep. The Sweet-Water Canal now connects Ismaïlia and Cairo.

The northern end of the Bitter Lakes is ten miles from Port Saïd. The lakes themselves are about 24 miles long.

The cuttings at Toussoum and Serepeum, between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, next to those at El Guise, are the deepest and heaviest on the canal.

In October, 1867, the first steamer navigated as far as Ismaïlia from Port Saïd, as the pioneer of the fleet that within two years' time was to pass entirely through to Suez.

The Egyptian Government has gone to great expense in constructing piers, docks, and basins at Suez, which must be added to the cost of its concession above stated.

Here is the Government estimate of the actual cost to Egypt of the Suez Canal, including interest and incidental expenses connected with the enterprise:—

COST TO EGYPT OF SUEZ CANAL.

Shares taken in the company by H. H. Saïd Pasha ...	£3,544,120
Award of Emperor Napoleon to compromise concession of forced labour	2,960,000
Paid to Canal Company for land and buildings near Cairo, called Cheflik-el-Wady	400,000
Paid to Canal Company to cancel concession of land on two sides of canal, as per contract, 23rd April, 1869 ...	1,200,000
Paid to Canal Company for works executed on Sweet-Water Canal, and as compensation for relinquishing company's claim to that canal	400,000
Cost of works executed by Government in cutting Sweet-Water Canal	428,927
Paid to French contractors for completion of Sweet-Water Canal by contract	815,833
Expenses of various missions to Europe and Constantinople in connection with canal, and expenses in opening the canal	1,011,193
	<u>£10,760,073</u>
Interest paid on above sums from respective dates to September, 1873	6,663,105
	<u>£17,423,178</u>

No. 2.

THE receipts of the Canal of Suez for the first quarter, for four successive years, have been as follows:—

	Francs.
1874, receipts for first quarter	6,744,000
1875 " "	8,212,000
1876 " "	8,344,000
1877 " "	9,071,000

The following figures, derived from authentic sources, will show the traffic:—

	Number of vessels passing through.	Tons measurement.
In 1875	1411 ...	1,908,970
In 1876	1395 ...	1,986,698

			Tons.
Of these, the English vessels amounted to			1,510,198
French	"	"	135,345
Holland	"	"	101,031
Italy	"	"	60,998
Austria	"	"	27,281
Russia	"	"	16,627

Thus, out of about 2,000,000 tonnage per annum, the proportions are—

English, a little more than . . .	1,500,000 tons.
All other nations, a little less than . . .	500,000 tons.

England thus contributing three-fourths of the entire tonnage.

APPENDIX B.

POPULATION OF THE FOREIGN COLONY.

No. 1.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to give an accurate statement as to the exact number and nationality of the foreign colony in Egypt. The consular registers are necessarily imperfect, in consequence not only of the neglect of persons to register their names and those of their families, but, in addition to the large floating class, agents of foreign houses scattered throughout the villages render the task more perplexing.

I subjoin a statement taken from the consular registers, showing only approximately the numbers and nationality of strangers resident in Egypt, which the Khedive himself estimates at about 100,000.

Greeks (not rayahs, or subjects of the Porte)	...	34,000
Italians	... ..	15,000
Frenchmen and French subjects	... ..	17,000
Englishmen and Maltese	... ..	6,000
Austrians and Hungarians	... ..	6,500
Germans	... ..	1,100
All other nationalities	... ..	1,390

Of Americans there are very few; a dozen missionaries, about 20 army officers, three judges of the mixed tribunals, and a small number of citizens. The number of American visitors annually is very great: larger than that of any other nationality except England.

No. 2.

Translated from the *Statistique de l'Egypte*, published by order of Government at Cairo, 1873:—

No. 10.—FOREIGN SUBJECTS OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES,
RESIDING IN EGYPT.

Residences.	Greeks.	Italians.	French.	English.	Austro-Hungarians.	Germans.	Persians.	Spaniards.	Russians.	Dutch.	Belgians.	Swedes, Danes, Portuguese, Americans & Various.	Total.
ALEXANDRIA	21,000	7,539	10,000	4,500	3,000	600	100	150	127	220	40	40	47,316
CATRO (suburbs inclusive)	7,000	3,367	5,000	1,000	1,800	450	400			103			19,120
OTHER LOCALITIES (principally Isth- mus of Suez and Delta)	6,000	3,000	2,000	500	1,500	50				210			13,260
Total . . .	34,000	13,906	17,000	6,000	6,300	1,100				1,390			79,696

NOTE.—These figures have been taken by the respective consulates in 1870–72 from the registrations of each nationality, which at Alexandria represent about half the real number, or number supposed to be correct. For the Italian colony alone, the results of a recent and rather complete census, taken in 1871–72, has been used, but from this, no doubt, a certain number of residents have been omitted. The general total, 79,696, includes about 800 Swiss under the protection of various foreign Powers; it does not apply to the floating or travelling population, but only to residents. In 1882 the Foreign population probably exceeded 100,000, including Greeks and Maltese.

APPENDIX C.

FIRMAN CHANGING SUCCESSION.

The firman of the Sultan changing the Egyptian succession was issued on 13 Rabi-ul Akhir 1290 of the Hegira—equivalent to 9th June, 1873. In this firman it is declared that "The Khedivate of Egypt passes to the eldest son of the person who shall find himself clothed with the dignity of the Khedive, or from him to his eldest son, and so on; that is to say, that the succession is established exclusively by order of primogeniture, as we are persuaded will be conformable to the interests and good administration of the Khedivate and the welfare of its people. In case the Khedive shall die without male issue, the Khedivate will pass to his younger brother, or, if need be, to the elder son of his younger brother." Provision is made in detail for a regency in case of the minority of the heir presumptive, eighteen years being considered full age. This firman further recognizes the unlimited authority of the Khedive to make internal laws and regulations for the government of Egypt, and his right to bestow military grades as high as colonel, and civil grades as high as bey. Higher grades must be issued from Constantinople at his request. This firman, enlarging previous powers granted to Egyptian viceroys, authorizes the Khedive to contract loans without permission asked of the Sultan; to enter into commercial or other treaties with foreign Powers, provided such arrangements are not inconsistent with the political treaties of the Sublime Porte; and also empowers him to increase his army and navy, as he sees fit, with the exception of ironclads, which are forbidden.

The annual tribute to Constantinople is fixed at 150,000 purses in gold, equivalent to about £680,000, concerning which the Sublime Porte thus feelingly and forcibly speaks: "Thou shalt also pay the greatest attention to remit each year without delay, and in its entirety, to my Imperial Treasury the 150,000 purses of tribute established, as fixed by the firman of 1866"—the firman elevating the viceroy to the dignity of Khedive.

